

MARYLAND

Historical Magazine



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CONTENTS

Roman Catholics, Not Papists: Catholic Identity in Maryland, 1689–1776	139
BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY	
A Plea for Maryland Catholics Reconsidered	163
TRICIA T. PYNE	
The Madness of Disunion: The Baltimore Conventions of 1860	183
CHARLES W. MITCHELL	
Portfolio: Photographs by Howard Hanford Hopkins	211
A Sportsman's Paradise: The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club	219
CYNTHIA OTT	
Book Reviews	238
Ellis, <i>American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson</i> , by Richard Striner	
Whitman, <i>The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland</i> , by Douglas R. Egerton	
Whitehorne, <i>The Battle for Baltimore, 1814</i> , by Ricardo A. Herrera	
Holland, <i>Maryland Lighthouses of the Chesapeake Bay</i> , and Vojtech, <i>Lighting the Bay: Tales of Chesapeake Lighthouses</i> , by Pete Leshner	
Bolster, <i>Black Jacks: African-American Seamen in the Age of Sail</i> , by Geoffrey M. Footner	
Hoffman and Albert, eds., <i>Launching the "Extended Republic": The Federalist Era</i> , by Eric Robert Papenfuss	
Rothberg, ed., <i>John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America</i> , Volume Two, by Patricia Dockman Anderson	
Books in Brief	253
Notices	254
Maryland Picture Puzzle	256
Maryland History Bibliography, 1996	257

Cover: Summer in the City, 1920

The children of Spring Gardens cooled off on a hot summer day in Baltimore in this picture taken at the Consolidated Gas Company about 1920. The company renovated the building in 1902, shortly before the Great Fire of 1904. Gas from this southwest Baltimore plant helped supply the city after the blaze destroyed 1526 downtown buildings in an eighty-six block area, including the company's main offices. Only a fortuitous change in wind direction kept the blaze from reaching the exposed gas mains on the Jones Falls bridges. (The Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

P.D.A./A.A.



Charles Carroll the Settler (1660–1720) arrived in Maryland in 1688, drawn by the colony's promise of religious freedom, a promise curtailed by the Glorious Revolution that same year. (Courtesy the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis.)

Roman Catholics, Not Papists: Catholic Identity in Maryland, 1689–1776

BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY

In 1771 Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote a letter briefly relating his family's history. Anti-Catholic laws, he observed, had deprived his Irish ancestors of their land, so his grandfather had moved to Maryland, a colony that offered Catholics religious freedom and equal privileges with other settlers. Having won a commission as attorney general, Charles Carroll the Settler arrived in 1688, the year of the Glorious Revolution in England. A year later, rebels calling themselves the Protestant Associators overthrew the proprietary government of Maryland. "The Revolutionists," recounted the younger Carroll, "... turned out of their places all the R[oman] C[atholic] gentlemen vested with most or chief of ye posts of honour, profit or trust, hanged some of them, & imprisoned many." That assessment was somewhat inaccurate and in his grandfather's case premature. Charles Carroll the Settler continued to serve the proprietor privately until 1717, when the assembly's hostility cost him his position.¹

What Charles Carroll of Carrollton could see so clearly—that the Revolution of 1689 had been a crucial turning point for Catholics in Maryland—had not been nearly so obvious to his grandfather. He knew, as his grandfather could not, that Catholics had never regained the rights lost in 1689, and that, in fact, their situation had considerably worsened in the ensuing eighty years. He also knew, as his grandfather could not, that Catholics had come to feel oppressed in the colony they once had considered a refuge. Before 1689, the offer of religious freedom had drawn Catholics to Maryland. Although their religious practices had distinguished them from their neighbors, Catholics had not formed a separate group politically. Instead, they allied with Protestants loyal to the proprietary family. The Glorious Revolution and the subsequent actions of the government strengthened Catholics' religious identity and eventually forced them to create a new political identity for themselves. At first, Catholics joined with Quakers to protest the establishment of the Church of England. Both the governor and assembly, however, took actions aimed specifically at Catholics, isolating them from any possible allies except the proprietor. Catholics cast their lot with the proprietary family, remaining loyal until the 1750s, when proprietary offi-

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cials agreed to a double tax on Catholics. At the same time, imperial events weakened their loyalty to England and international events eroded their identification with English Catholics. It was therefore as Marylanders that Catholics in the 1770s allied with Protestants and rebelled against both proprietary and English rule.

In 1689, Catholics in Maryland did not know what the future would bring, but their reaction to the Glorious Revolution does shed light on what they knew about the past and how they perceived their own place in Maryland history.² Together with Protestants loyal to the proprietor, Catholic leaders expected to put down the rebellion relatively easily, since the government had weathered several revolts earlier in the century and had always survived. Two months after the rebellion started, Charles Carroll the Settler advised Lord Baltimore, "certainly your Lordship's charter is not such a trifle as to be annulled by the bare allegations of such profligate wretches." Carroll ended his letter with an assurance of his "hearty prayers that your Lordship may meet with noe great difficulties in composeing these matters."³

Although virtually every Catholic sided with Lord Baltimore, they did not initially consider the revolt a religious conflict pitting Catholics against Protestants nor did they conceive of themselves as a Catholic political party. They believed the rebellion was simply a political uprising against proprietary authority and saw themselves as defenders, along with many Protestants, of the proprietary interest. Carroll, for example, reported that the rebels had excluded from office "not only all Roman Catholiques . . . but also all Protestants that refuse to join them in their irregularities, . . . arbitrarily threatening to hang any man that takes upon him to justify your Lordship's right." Carroll concluded, "Neither Catholic nor honest Protestant can well call his life or estate his own." Colonel Peter Sayer of Talbot County tried to console the proprietor by observing that "the best men & best Protestants . . . (men of the best Estates, & real professors of the Protestant Religion) stand stifly up for your Lordship's interests."⁴

The causes of the uprising puzzled Catholic leaders, who believed that the colony had simply been misled by the rebels. Colonel Henry Darnall I, a deputy governor and the proprietor's agent, thought "the people were led away by false reports and shams," while Charles Carroll the Settler blamed "the wicked instigations" of the Protestant Associators for "the strange rebellion."⁵ They seemed oblivious to the long-term grievances which contributed to the revolt, including the perception by many Anglicans that the Catholic Church held a privileged position in the colony compared to the Church of England.

In England, the Anglican Church benefited from its status as the established church. Taxpayers supplied its financial needs; laws required attendance at its services; the monarch even served as its head. English Catholics, by contrast, had long suffered from persecution, and their numbers had declined precipitously;

by the 1600s, they constituted fewer than two percent of England's population. Despite their small numbers, "the poor afflicted Catholics," according to the first Lord Baltimore, "have their grievances daily multiplied, their estates spoiled, and their persons disgraced." Over time, however, English Catholics had developed strategies for coping, living quietly to avoid attracting attention from the government. They established chapels at their homes and supported chaplains, who ministered to the gentry families and their neighbors and dependents. Some priests rode circuits between chapels, relying on their families and congregations for support.⁶

When the Calverts founded Maryland in 1634, they deliberately tried to create a society different from England's, a society where religion was a private matter and all Christians enjoyed liberty of conscience. This was a matter of both principle and necessity: the Calverts wanted their colony to be a refuge for fellow Catholics, but they also needed to attract as many settlers as possible if Maryland was going to be a success. The Calverts could afford to alienate neither prospective Protestant settlers nor the English government by favoring the Catholic Church. In any case, their own experience with religious discrimination led the proprietary family to support the principle of liberty of conscience.⁷

What the Calverts intended to be equal treatment of all Christians was perceived by some Protestants as favoritism toward Catholics. Protestant settlers had outnumbered Catholics from the first day of colonization, but the Catholic Church had fared relatively well compared to the Anglican Church.⁸ Lay Catholics in Maryland voluntarily supported the church and built chapels. Priests, freed from the shackles of the English penal laws, zealously ministered to their flocks and sought converts. A close-knit Catholic community quickly developed, offering its members a variety of advantages: Catholics acted as godparents for each other's children, watched out for orphans and widows, attended Mass regularly, and transacted business with each other.⁹

By comparison, the Anglican Church in Maryland languished. Although the majority of settlers in Maryland were nominally Anglican, they never fully accepted the idea of voluntarily building churches or supporting their pastors. Few Anglican clergymen found Maryland attractive, preferring to settle in neighboring Virginia, where they could count on regular salaries. As a result, the Church of England failed to establish a lasting presence during the period of toleration, forcing most Anglicans to choose between not practicing religion at all or converting to Catholicism or Quakerism.¹⁰

Politically, Catholics in Maryland had also enjoyed an advantage over Protestants before the Glorious Revolution. Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, had appointed both Catholics and Protestants to governmental offices. However, Charles Calvert, who succeeded his father as Lord Baltimore in 1676, preferred to award provincial offices only to an inner circle of his friends and

Imp^o. Item after my Just Debts and Legacy's here after
 named be paid and Discharged I devise Leave and bequeath
 unto the proper use and behoof of the upholding and benefit
 of the Roman Catholick Chappell built at the mouth of Wye
 River the One moiety of my Reall and Personall Estate
 the Other Moiety to my Exec^r. Mad^m Henrietta Maria
 Lloyd Wid^o to her and her heirs Exec^r and assigns for Ever
 further my will is if in case the Catholicks of Talbot County
 should be under persecution and restrained from having
 Liberty of Conscience at my Decease and like to Continue
 so that no benefite of the said Chappell they have that the
 Moiety of my Estate afo^r intended for the use of the said Chappell
 shall be Equally distributed and Divided between M^r Mich^l
 Gubbins M^r Pennington and M^r Mathews priests of the Society
 of Jesus and further do Impower my said Executrix to make
 firm Sale and Sale to any person or persons of Either Party
 or the whole Quantity of five Tracts of Land Containing in all
 Eleven hundred Acres of Land and if my Executrix will hold the
 said Eleven hundred Acres to her own use and Dispose thereof
 shall for the One moiety thereof given for the use afo^r pay Two
 Thousand Pounds Tobacco of our hundred Acres which will
 amount to Eleven Thousand Pounds Tobacco to be converted to
 the use aforesaid

Item I leave & bequeath for the use & benefit of the Chappell near the Town in
 this River and Maintenance of any Priest that shall officiate there all
 my tract of Land called Towns Road cont^g one hundred Acres that I
 bought of R^o Harlewind. Also two hundred Acres more out of my Lot
 of Land lately taken up called Henrietta Maria's Discovery lying in Wye
 River.
 Item I give unto Sarah Grason Seven Acres of Land out of my Seat called
 Henrietta Maria's discovery to be allotted next adjoining to her Land

Eastern Shore Catholics bequeathed money and land for their churches in the late seventeenth century. Shown here are portions of the wills of John Londey (above) and Henrietta Maria Lloyd (below), to whom Londey had left half his estate. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC538.)

relatives, nearly all of whom were Catholics. In an era when economic and social elites normally wielded substantial political power, many wealthy Protestants in Maryland found themselves excluded from profitable provincial offices. Some, such as ex-cleric John Coode and attorney Kenelm Cheseldyne, had once enjoyed but then lost proprietary favor, while Nehemiah Blakiston, another attorney, had never gained it. Henry Jowles, a large planter, served in many county-level offices but was unable to make the leap to the provincial level. These frustrated Protestants tended to blame their lack of opportunity on Lord Baltimore's favoritism toward Catholics, and all four became leaders of the Protestant Associators.¹¹ During the Revolution their resentment prompted them to remove Catholics from all civil and military offices and close Catholic chapels.¹²

Restriction and Reaction

After the revolt the English government decided that Maryland would become a royal colony but that Lord Baltimore would retain his lands and certain proprietary revenues. A royal governor arrived in 1692. The newly elected assembly prohibited Catholics from serving in the royal government, although the ban did not apply to the remaining proprietary offices, such as collectors of quitrents. In addition, the assembly officially established the Church of England. The law did not require attendance at Anglican services or ban other churches, but henceforth Catholics had to pay an annual poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco to support a church they did not attend. The government also allowed the Catholic chapels to reopen.¹³

The establishment of the royal government and the Anglican Church forced Catholics to begin to accept the possibility that this time Lord Baltimore would not regain control of the government in the short run. The government's actions compelled Catholics to begin to identify themselves as a distinct group in the early 1690s, although they did not immediately develop a new political identity.¹⁴ Instead, they continued to be loyal to the proprietary family, hoping for the restoration of the colony to Calvert control; the more optimistic among them even hoped for the restoration of Stuart control in England. Catholics joined with the Quakers, another group that dissented from the new order, to oppose the Church tax and promote a return to proprietary rule. The Anglican clergy complained that both Catholics and Quakers "dayly Endeavour to draw People to their parties, by suggesting" that Lord Baltimore would again govern the colony. The council complained that Lord Baltimore's agents—presumably a reference to Henry Darnall I and Charles Carroll the Settler—were using their control of the Land Office to win support for the proprietor. Additionally, some Catholics drank toasts to the deposed king, James II.¹⁵

Catholics' political troubles strengthened their commitment to their faith. Even among the gentry, who stood to lose the most by exclusion from office, very

few responded to the discrimination they faced by converting.¹⁶ Instead, they rallied around the Church. At least half of the Catholics who wrote wills in the 1690s made bequests to the Church, compared to only about one-third a decade earlier.¹⁷ Catholics continued to attend Mass and to be baptized, married, and buried in the Church, allowing them to maintain their religious identity as a separate group.¹⁸

The changed environment made maintaining access to their chapels a critical issue for Catholics. Eastern Shore Catholics displayed tremendous concern over the fate of their chapel at Doncaster, which was owned by Colonel Peter Sayer. In 1693 planter John Londey bequeathed half his estate to support the Doncaster chapel, but the bequest was to be void if "the Catholics of Talbot County should be under persecution and restrained from having Liberty of Conscience at my Decease." Londey left the other half of his estate to Henrietta Maria Lloyd, a wealthy Catholic widow, who bequeathed her share of Londey's estate plus an additional three hundred acres of land for the support of the chapel in 1697. A year later Sayer's widow died, leaving no children. She carefully specified in her will that the Doncaster chapel should become the property of her nephew Charles Blake and Lloyd's son, Richard Bennett III. Nor was this concern with chapel access limited to the isolated Catholics living on the Eastern Shore. In 1698, Joshua Doyne of St. Mary's County specified in his will that the "Church Stuff" should go first to his wife Jane and, after her death, to his son Jesse. Although lay Catholics had maintained chapels and left bequests to the Church and individual priests for many years, they had not previously used their wills to ensure the chapels' existence.¹⁹

Catholics' religious zeal was also evident in their efforts to seek converts. According to Governor Francis Nicholson, an epidemic that swept the Lower Western Shore in the late 1690s provided an excellent opportunity for "several Popish Priests and zealous Papists . . . (under pretence of visiting the sick during this time of common calamity and sickness) to seduce, delude, and persuade divers of His Majesty's good Protestant subjects to the Romish faith." Additionally, Catholic masters sometimes prevented their servants from attending Protestant church services, pressuring them to convert to Catholicism.²⁰

Nicholson, a zealous Anglican and royal appointee, already suspected Catholics for their loyalty to the proprietor, support for the Stuart kings, and opposition to the establishment of the Church of England. Allowing Catholics to seek converts among the vulnerable was more than he could endure. Nicholson issued proclamations in 1698 forbidding Catholics to proselytize and banning toasts to James II. He also signed a law to limit the importation of Irish servants—mostly Catholics—into the province.²¹

Catholics did not react in any organized way to these new restrictions. Two Charles County court cases suggest, however, that some individuals stubbornly

refused to obey the proclamations and tried to impose their religious beliefs on others, especially their Protestant dependents. In the first case, Mary Stigalier, a Protestant, complained to a member of the council in 1701 that her husband James and their friends James and Elizabeth Neale, all Catholics, had pressured her to convert. When she refused, her husband told her “that within two yeares shee and all the rest of the protestants would bee forced to turne Roman Catholicks.” If they resisted, “the Roman Catholicks would broyle them all on Grid Irons . . . for feare the times should turne againe.” This man had come to see Protestants—even his own wife—as enemies. A jury found him not guilty, but required him to post a recognizance bond for good behavior.²² In the second case, a servant named John Emory alleged that his master, Anthony Neale, “a Seveare and Rigid Roman Catholick,” had forced him “to go to the Romish Church” and had burned some Protestant books belonging to Emory. The court acquitted Neale, while admitting that he probably had burned the books.²³

A new governor, John Seymour, arrived in 1704, two years after the outbreak of Queen Anne’s War. He quickly let it be known that he would not tolerate any more misbehavior by Catholics, closing the Jesuits’ large brick chapel at St. Mary’s City and threatening two priests with expulsion. Additionally, he lobbied for anti-Catholic legislation. Parliament had recently passed a new, stricter anti-Catholic law, and with Seymour’s encouragement, the Maryland assembly now passed its own version, entitled an “Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery,” which banned Catholics from teaching or proselytizing and prohibited priests from celebrating Mass.²⁴

The measure stunned Catholics, who were used to practicing their faith relatively openly. The Maryland act was much milder than its English counterpart, but rigorous enforcement of it eventually would have destroyed Catholicism in the colony. Several leading Catholics quickly petitioned the assembly for relief on “behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Ma[jes]ties Roman Catholick Subjects.” This petition marked the first time Catholics identified themselves as a group when approaching the government. The petitioners probably included Henry Darnall I and his son-in-law Charles Carroll the Settler; both men had resisted the Protestant Associators and were the two highest-ranking officeholders in the proprietary revenue establishment. They may have been joined by Carroll’s nephew James Carroll, a wealthy merchant in his own right, and by Richard Bennett III, a very rich and well-connected Eastern Shore Catholic whose sister had married Darnall’s brother.²⁵

The petitioners appealed to the assembly’s sense of fairness, claiming a common heritage for Catholics and Protestants in Maryland. They were “much surprised to find themselves . . . deprived of that Liberty in point of Religious worshipp wch they and their Ancestors have without interruption constantly enjoy’d from the first seating of this province togeather with the Rest of their fellow Subjects of Different perswasions.” This religious liberty had been included

in the charter, advertised in the public conditions of settlement used to attract settlers, and codified by a law passed by an earlier assembly. Maryland's experiment in religious liberty had led to a firm "union between all the people towards carryeing on the Comon interests of the Crowne of England and their owne." The Catholics had "been as active and forward in hazarding their lives and fortunes for the Comon interest and reduction of the Country to the English . . . as any other proportionable number of the people." The colonists, whether Catholic or Protestant, had paid a heavy price for advancing England's interests: "A great many of them left their lives as well by the hands of the infidell enemy as by the Hardships which the seating of such a desarte as must of necessity Render people lyable to." Given all that Catholics had done and suffered in Maryland, it seemed to the petitioners only just that the "covenant" of religious liberty "ought to continue to posterity."²⁶

The petition persuaded the lower house to suspend part of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery, pending the queen's approval. Queen Anne eventually ordered that the suspension be made permanent, allowing priests to celebrate Mass but only in private houses, not publicly. The provision that Catholics worship only in private houses was hardly onerous, since most of the existing chapels, even those belonging to the Jesuits, were either attached to houses or were rooms in houses. The suspension was only a partial victory for Catholics, because the rest of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery remained in effect. Governor Seymour and the council continued to attack Catholics, especially their control of the Land Office, but they were stymied by support for Catholics in the lower house.²⁷

No anti-Catholic laws passed for the remainder of the royal period, which ended in 1714 with the conversion of the fourth Lord Baltimore to Protestantism. The crown restored control of the government to the Calvert family. Catholics rejoiced, believing that the restoration of the Calverts meant the restoration of their own political power. Charles Carroll the Settler had become the proprietor's agent after Henry Darnall I's death, and the proprietary family now rewarded him for his years of loyal service by granting him additional offices and powers. At the same time, the Jacobite rebellion in 1715, which sought to return the Stuarts to the throne of England, inspired open sympathy for the Pretender among some Catholics—a few Jacobites, in fact, fired cannons in Annapolis to celebrate the Pretender's birthday. Together, these events made Protestant leaders uneasy. Led by Governor John Hart, they passed laws to strip Catholics of any political power by banning them from voting in elections and from serving in the proprietor's private revenue establishment. The assembly also repealed the 1704 Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery, intending to leave Catholics subject to the harsher English laws.²⁸

The actions of the assembly prompted Peter Attwood to write an essay en-

titled, "Liberty and Property or The Beauty of Maryland displayed."²⁹ Attwood was a Jesuit priest closely associated with Charles Carroll and Henry Darnall II.³⁰ His essay is the longest, most detailed, and best documented discussion of Catholic history in Maryland written by a colonial Catholic. His understanding of Maryland's early history resembled that in the 1704 petition, stressing the common heritage of Catholics and Protestants. Attwood observed that with the encouragement of the charter and the toleration laws, "Christians of all Persuasions lived intermixed in this Province, in Peace & good Neighborhood: nor was there any Difference to be seen, save only in their different Places, & manner of worship." In every other way, "they all agreed as Neighbors, Friends & Brothers, whilst some of all Persuasions (that is to say, those that were thought most fit & capable) employed promiscuously Places of Honor, Trust & Interest."³¹

The trouble for Catholics started with the Revolution of 1689. "From this Epoch," wrote Attwood, "we may date our changes, not only in Governmt but in manner Laws & union to & wth each other: then it was prejudice & party set up their unhappy standards, & Religion wch till then lay quiet & undisturbed, was discountenanced, brought to ye Bar & confined to much narrower Limits than she enjoyed before." He did, however, excuse Maryland's Protestants, blaming instead the governors of the royal period, "who . . . came to fleece & not to feed, to raise their own Fortunes, not to advance ours: Govrs who instead of healing our wounds, widened our Breaches, fomented our Divisions, & wn no other Crime could be objected made the Religion of some high Treason, or at least a mark of Disgrace." John Seymour in particular attracted Attwood's condemnation: the governor, complained Attwood, pushed for the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery out "of a Pique" against some Catholics "who, wn the Govr had modestly demanded a purse well lined, had the indiscretion or Impudence, as it was then deemed, to refuse the same."³²

Attwood's main concern was the effort to impose the English penal laws, and he argued that liberty of conscience was a fundamental law in Maryland. For more than seventy years, he observed, no one—from the lowliest Catholic to Queen Anne and her Privy Council—had considered the English laws to extend to the colony. As a result, regardless of any actions by the assembly, Attwood believed that Catholics were free to practice their faith.³³

A New Generation

Catholic leaders apparently considered presenting a version of Attwood's essay to the assembly in 1719 but backed off after a neutral observer warned them it sounded more like a claim of right than a humble petition.³⁴ This troubled period ended in 1720 with the death of Charles Carroll the Settler and the departure of John Hart. Later that year, Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore, wrote

to his colonists that he hoped "to Bury those Seeds of Rancour and Jealousie wch have too long prevailed," and that Catholics would "peaceably & Quietly Submitt to the Known Laws . . . And rest happy under the Indulgence pmitted to them." The assembly quickly announced that it also desired peace with Catholics and did not intend to enforce the penal laws if Catholics behaved themselves.³⁵ The Catholic community, wearied by the long years of trouble, accepted the olive branch and gave up their attempts to restore their lost political power.

This was an important transition for Catholics. To this point, their leaders—Henry Darnall I, Charles Carroll the Settler, Richard Bennett III, and others—had fought to regain the rights they had lost and return to an equal footing with Protestants. They had stressed the common experiences of Catholics and Protestants, who together had settled the colony and advanced the interests of both the proprietor and England. The attitudes and goals of the rising generation of Catholic leaders were quite different. Born in Maryland and descended from Catholic gentry, they surely had heard stories of Catholics' glorious past in the colony but had never personally known a time when Catholics could serve in provincial office or practice their faith publicly. They lacked the sense of deprivation felt by their fathers, who had chosen to migrate to Maryland in search of religious freedom only to see it snatched from them in 1689. This younger generation took a more defensive position: they were willing to live quietly, as Catholics in England did, and not challenge the existing laws. Rather, they simply sought to maintain the status quo.³⁶

Like their fathers, the younger generation of Catholic leaders tied their political fortunes to the proprietary family and demonstrated their loyalty at every opportunity. In 1727, for example, they thanked Lord Baltimore for sending his brother as governor and asked him to present their congratulations to George II, the new king. Five years later, when the proprietor visited Maryland, Catholics again sought to ingratiate themselves by congratulating him on his safe arrival and reminding him of their loyalty to the now-Protestant proprietary family and the English monarchy.³⁷

The desire of both Catholics and Protestants for peace in the colony survived the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739 and with France in 1744. It even survived the Young Pretender's rebellion in 1745, which did inspire some Jacobite outbursts in Maryland. The most notable was by William Fothergill, a landless Catholic in Anne Arundel County, who voiced his desire "to see the time that the Poor Roman Catholicks (who had been kept in Slavery forty two years) out of their Bondage and to wash their hands in the hearts Blood of the Protestants." Fothergill's reference to forty-two years of "Slavery" clearly is a reference to the passage of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery. That a poor Catholic had such specific knowledge of Catholic history in Maryland suggests that such knowledge was not limited to the wealthy and well-educated but was part of what it

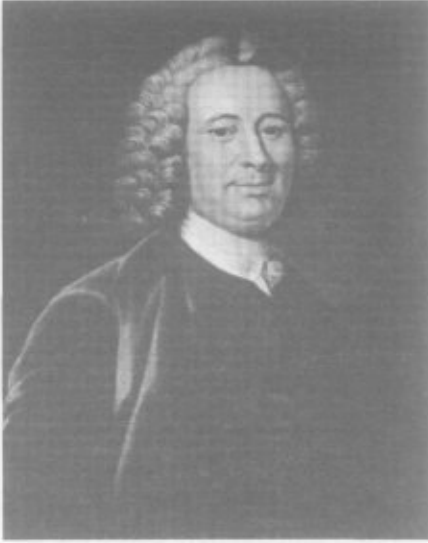
meant to be a Catholic, transmitted from generation to generation and priest to congregation along with Catholic rites and practices. In any case, despite the Fothergill incident, Catholics in Maryland enjoyed a peaceful relationship with the government from 1720 to 1750.³⁸

The peace was shattered in 1751, not because of anything Catholics had done but because a convert to Protestantism, Dr. Charles Carroll, had embezzled a large estate and tried to cover up his misdeeds by preventing the heirs—two Jesuit priests—from claiming their inheritance. Dr. Carroll, a member of the lower house, proposed that the English penal laws be strictly enforced, for under English law, Catholic priests did not have the right to own property, even property bequeathed to them. The lower house agreeably passed a bill explicitly declaring England's penal laws to apply in Maryland and appointing officials to enforce them.³⁹

Catholics were shocked. Had this bill become law, the effect on them would have been devastating. Twelve prominent Catholics immediately asked the upper house to reject the bill. The petitioners, political leaders of the Catholic community, were men of wealth and maturity, averaging forty-five years of age. Most had been teenagers when their fathers and grandfathers resisted Governor Hart. They were an interrelated group; each one was related to at least one of the others. Ignatius Digges, for example, was the half-brother of Philip Darnall and Henry Darnall of Portland Manor and the cousin of William Digges III, whose sister was the wife of Clement Hill III. Geography also contributed to their role as political leaders. All lived near Annapolis—eight in Prince George's County, three in Anne Arundel County, and one just across the Chesapeake Bay at Queenstown.⁴⁰

The petition reveals how much Catholics' view of themselves and their place in Maryland had changed. Unlike their predecessors earlier in the century, the petitioners made no mention at all of a common heritage with Protestants, nor did they claim equal rights. Instead, they hoped "that a ready and implicit obedience to the Laws in being and quiet Submission to the Civil Power would have justly intituled them to the Protection of that Government, which they so chearfully contributed to support and so willingly obeyed." The implication was that they had kept their side of the bargain struck in 1720 and had done nothing to merit this crackdown. Look into Catholics' conduct, they begged, "before you consent to deprive them . . . of all those Liberties, and Privileges which they have hitherto been blessed with."⁴¹

Charles Carroll of Annapolis, the wealthiest Catholic in Maryland and a kinsman of the Protestant Doctor Carroll, sent his own petition to the upper house. Unlike his co-religionists, however, Carroll wrote not of liberties and privileges but of rights. He stressed the contributions made by Catholics to the settlement of the colony, observing "that a very great Number of Gentlemen of good and antient Families and other Roman Catholicks" had "quit their native Countries,



Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702–1782) successfully petitioned the Maryland legislature on behalf of Catholics in 1751. (Courtesy, the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis.)

Friends, and Relations,” and migrated to Maryland, “then a Wilderness and in the Hands of a Barbarous and savage People, hoping and confiding that by such a Sacrifice they should procure to themselves and their Descendants, all the Religious and Civil Rights they were deprived of” in England and Ireland. But their hopes had been in vain, as Catholics had lost some of their rights. Despite his militant tone, Carroll did not demand the restoration of these lost rights but merely asked for the maintenance of the status quo. For the past thirty years, he noted, “the Roman Catholics as a Body” had behaved quietly and decently, so he asked “that no new penal laws be enacted against them . . . whereby the Religious, and Civil Rights they have hitherto enjoyed may be any ways infringed.”⁴²

The upper house accepted the petitions and refused to pass Dr. Carroll’s bill. For the next five years, the lower house periodically attacked Catholics, but the upper house and the governor consistently defended them. It was not until 1756, two years into the French and Indian War, that the lower house succeeded in penalizing Maryland Catholics. A major supply bill to raise defense funds imposed a new land tax, and the lower house added a provision that Catholics should pay double. Given the urgent need to protect frontier settlers, the governor and the upper house agreed to the tax.⁴³

The tax itself was not a heavy burden for Catholics, amounting to one shilling per one hundred acres annually.⁴⁴ It was not the actual cost which so alarmed Catholics, but the fear of what might come next. They interpreted the actions of the governor and upper house as signalling an end to the proprietary protection on which Catholics had long relied. The governor and upper house had always

blocked the efforts of the anti-Catholic party in the lower house, but perhaps that group would now have a free hand to tax Catholics' property and possibly even impose other restrictions on them. The Provincial Court justices appointed by the proprietor had steadfastly refused to enforce the English penal laws, but Catholics feared the courts would no longer protect them. Particularly disturbing in this regard was the arrest in September 1756 of James Beadnall, a Jesuit priest, for celebrating Mass and trying to convert a Quaker to Catholicism.⁴⁵

Leaders among the Catholic gentry responded to the sudden deterioration in their position by sending petitions to Governor Sharpe and to Frederick Calvert, the sixth Lord Baltimore. Like Carroll five years earlier, they stressed the contributions Catholics had made to Maryland, depicting them far more heroically than Carroll had. Catholics formed "the Bulck of the first Settlers," who overcame nearly insurmountable obstacles. "The Country was a Vast and one uncultivated Forest: the Possessors of that Forest a savage and Cruell People," with whom the colonists frequently fought. In addition, "the Labour of clearing thickly wooded Lands was allmost intollerable, the Scarcity of Provisions and the want not only of the conveniences but of necessities of Life, allmost unsurportable." Worst of all, "the distempers and sicknesses attending a new unhealthy Climate were most discouraging." Despite these woes, Catholics had "looked on Maryland as an Asylum and place of Rest for themselves and their Posterity." That had changed beginning in 1689; from that time forward, "many severe Laws were made . . . by wch we were oppressed." These laws reduced Catholics almost "to a Levil with our Negroes not having even the Priviledge of voting for Persons to represent us in Assembly." Catholics nonetheless had "not only increased the Trade and riches of their M[othe]r Country but laid the foundation of the present flourishing state of this Province." Justice and gratitude, argued the petitioners, should compel the proprietary government to veto the double land tax.⁴⁶

The Jesuits, meanwhile, portrayed the Catholic community as especially chosen by God and encouraged Catholics to endure. James Beadnall, the priest arrested in 1756, observed, "You suffer Persecution for Justice sake! You're deprived of Liberties! Debar'd from high Posts & Offices! You're revil'd (as I may say) but all for Justice sake." He urged his congregation to "Rejoyce therefore & be glad for yr Reward is exceeding great in Heaven." Joseph Mosley compared Catholics' suffering to that of the apostles and encouraged his congregations to "Stick steadily to your Faith, adhere firm to your Religion, against whatever oppositions, your Enemies can only hurt ye Body, by ye Soul they can't endamage." Finally, James Carroll, one of the Jesuits whose inheritance Dr. Carroll had embezzled, sounded a more militant note: he urged Catholics to cast off the "heavy yoke which we have too long carried," give up trying to please "the wise men of this world [who] are so lyable to be mistaken and so often err," and "manfully defend ourselves and our holy liberties, liberties belonging to the children of God alone."⁴⁷

The proprietary government never again agreed to any anti-Catholic laws, but what the Catholics saw as their betrayal in 1756 struck at their identity and radicalized their outlook. Since the Glorious Revolution, they had seen themselves as siding with and relying on the proprietary family, but the proprietary family had deserted them in their time of need. The events of 1756 destroyed this long-standing identification of Catholics with the Calverts. No family had been more loyal to the proprietor than the Carrolls, yet Charles Carroll of Annapolis bitterly wrote to his son in 1759, "remember ye ill treatment yr Grandfather met with after so long a series of services, remember ye cruel usage of ye Roman Catholicks by ye late & present Ld Baltimore & let yt so weigh with you as never to Sacrifice yr own or yr Country's Inter[es]t to promote ye Inter[es]t or power of ye Proprietary Family."⁴⁸

More significant was Catholics' use of the word slavery to describe their situation. The landless Fothergill had complained in the 1740s that Catholics were being "kept in Slavery," while the gentlemen who petitioned in 1756 felt that the laws diminished their status to a position equivalent to their slaves, specifically by denying them the right to vote. These references to slavery should not be dismissed as mere hyperbole. The word was commonly used in the political discourse of the times to refer to people who could not protect their rights and property, and it was in this sense that the American revolutionaries often voiced a fear of slavery. Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, for example, wrote in 1764 that "those who are governed at the will of another, or of others, and whose property may be taken from them by taxes or otherwise without their own consent and against their will, are in the miserable condition of slaves."⁴⁹ It was exactly in this sense that Maryland Catholics had begun to view themselves as slaves. Despite the Jesuits' assurances that Catholics would be rewarded for their suffering, the situation seemed intolerable to many laymen, particularly given their increasingly heroic view of Catholics' past experiences in Maryland.

Many Catholics grew sufficiently alarmed by their circumstances in the mid-1750s to consider leaving Maryland. One petition reported that the troubles had "already compell'd some to leave ye Country to ye great prejudice of yt Province, to have sett others on winding up their affairs in order to quit it, & determined many more to retire & look for peace & Quiet elsewhere." No one was angrier than Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Less than two weeks after the double tax became law, Carroll placed an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* announcing his intention "to wind up his Affairs" and sell his land. He went to France in 1757 to negotiate a deal for land in Louisiana, but his plans fell through.⁵⁰

A decade later, in 1767, Dr. Henry Jerningham, an English emigrant who had moved to Maryland seventeen years earlier, tried to organize a move to Louisiana. He wrote to the Spanish governor that hundreds of families would move if the Spanish would accept them and assured the governor that none of the Catho-

THE Subscriber intending to wind up his Affairs as soon as possible, hereby gives Notice to all Persons indebted to him, by Bond, &c. to discharge the same immediately, or to secure the Payment in a short Time. He has several valuable Seats of Land, which, with his Houses and Lots in *Annapolis*, he is willing to sell. Any Person inclinable to purchase, may apply to him for the Terms of Sale.

CHARLES CARROLL.

Angered by the Assembly's double tax on Catholics, Charles Carroll of Annapolis planned to leave the colony and in 1756 placed this advertisement in the Maryland Gazette. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC2311.)

lics in Maryland had ever sworn allegiance to the British government. A mixed group of Acadian, German, and English-speaking Catholics made the trip from St. Mary's County to Louisiana in 1769, but their ship was blown off course. The local Spanish officials where they landed, not having been notified of their impending arrival, imprisoned them. The Acadian and German families chose to stay, but the English-speaking families did not. No mass migration resulted.⁵¹

Despite—or perhaps because of—the decline in Catholic political fortunes after 1750, their religious lives flourished. To serve the growing population, the chapel network expanded from twenty-two in the 1720s to at least fifty in the 1760s. This extensive network of chapels allowed Catholics to continue to attend Mass regularly and enjoy rites of passage in the Church, a necessity for maintaining their identity as Catholics.⁵² One sign of this new sense of separation may be a decline in the rate of intermarriage with Protestants, which fell from 22.1 percent for Catholic gentry in the period from 1720 to 1750 to just 12.3 percent for the remainder of the colonial period. Catholics expressed their religious commitment in other ways. In the 1760s and 1770s, the Jesuits maintained lending libraries at each of their plantations, and they also organized at least five sodalities, which mostly women joined. Additionally, many more parents were able to provide their children with Catholic educations. Before 1750 only about thirty-five Maryland boys had attended Catholic schools in Europe, but the number skyrocketed to at least eighty-two by 1773. Before 1750 only seven Maryland girls had studied at convents or joined religious orders, compared to at least

thirty-six after 1750. This was an expensive commitment for parents to make: six years at St. Omers, the most frequently chosen boys' school, cost roughly one hundred pounds sterling just for tuition, room, and board, while families had to come up with dowries of anywhere from one hundred to three hundred pounds sterling for daughters entering convents.⁵³ That so many parents were willing to pay so much to provide their children with Catholic educations testifies to the deep attachment they felt for their church.

While Catholics' commitment to their religion did not waver in the late colonial period, their sense of identification with English Catholics weakened greatly. In 1765, for example, Marylanders discovered that the Catholic Church was considering appointing a vicar-apostolic or bishop for the English colonies. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall of Portland Manor, and 256 other Catholics immediately petitioned against such a move. They feared the appointment would give their enemies, who were "bent on our ruin, a stronger handle yn anything they have hitherto been able to lay hold on, and consequently terminate in the utter extirpation of our religion." That the English Catholic authorities could be so oblivious to the situation in Maryland frustrated the colonists.⁵⁴

The declining fortunes of the Society of Jesus may also have contributed to a sense of alienation among Maryland Catholics. The Portuguese government had expelled the Jesuits from its empire in 1759, the French followed suit in 1762, as did the Spanish in 1767. Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus worldwide in 1773. The Jesuits had always dominated the Maryland mission; since 1720 they had been the only priests to serve in Maryland. Few Maryland Catholics alive in 1773 had ever received communion, made confession, or been baptized or married by any priest except a Jesuit. Suppression of the Jesuits severed the close ties that had always existed between Maryland and European Catholicism. Catholics in Maryland had little reason to feel any loyalty to or identification with the Catholic Church beyond Maryland—it had turned its back on them.⁵⁵

Both the growing isolation of Maryland Catholics within the Catholic Church and their alienation from the proprietor contributed to a subtle shift in their identity. By the late colonial period, Catholics increasingly began to take pride in their identity not as proprietary loyalists or as Catholics in the English empire but as Marylanders. Petitions in the 1750s reminded Catholics of their proud heritage in the colony. The efforts to organize mass migrations failed in part because most Catholics had been born and had lived their entire lives in Maryland. They had familial and economic ties to the area and considered themselves Marylanders just as much as any Protestant. Even the boys sent to St. Omers took pride in this provincial identity, describing themselves as "Marylandians."⁵⁶

It was as Marylanders that Catholics began once again to participate in poli-



Charles Carroll the Signer (1737–1832), grandson of the Settler, signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. (Courtesy, the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis.)

tics in 1773, joining with Protestants in opposition first to the proprietor and then to England. The first to get involved was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Carroll joined in a newspaper debate over the fees paid to proprietary officials and wrote various essays opposing the proprietary government. His public stand brought him great popularity. By mid-1773 he had become an important figure in the emerging popular party, while his father assumed an active role behind the scenes.⁵⁷

When the popular party turned its attention from the proprietary government to the growing rift between Britain and her colonies, Catholics flocked to join. Partly, of course, the fact that a Catholic was a leader of the popular party helped draw them to the movement. But Catholic support for the American Revolution involved more than mere emotion. Principles the patriots espoused held great meaning for Catholics. Taxed without their consent, denied the vote for more than fifty years and stripped of other rights for even longer, they could easily rally behind the ideas of no taxation without representation and equality before the law. The Revolutionary movement offered them the possibility of becoming political actors once again. Catholics served on the patriot committees, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton became a delegate to the Continental Congress. The state constitution of 1776 formally returned to Catholics the rights they had lost since 1689, and they once again became citizens with the same rights and privileges as other Marylanders.⁵⁸

Catholics had come full circle by 1776. Prior to 1689 they had established themselves as a separate and successful group in Maryland's competitive reli-

gious environment, while politically, they had allied themselves with Protestants in the proprietary party. The Glorious Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the royal government and the Church of England had forced Catholics in Maryland to fashion a new identity for themselves. Their new status as "Papists," as a minority singled out for discrimination by the government, caused them to become even more firmly attached to the Catholic Church, as seen in their wills; they rejected the pejorative title Papist, always referring to themselves in their petitions and wills as Roman Catholics. Politically, the changed circumstances required that Catholics give up ecumenical politics and form a separate political group, one specifically aimed at restoring Catholics to an equal position with Protestants. The return of government control to the proprietary family did not solve Catholics' troubles, and, in fact, they lost the right to vote and suffered other defeats. In 1720 a new generation of Catholic leaders informally accepted the government's offer to maintain the status quo. For thirty years this defensive stand worked well, but in the 1750s the coming of the French and Indian War and the actions of Dr. Carroll caused a crisis for Catholics. In 1756, when the assembly passed a double tax on Catholic-owned lands, they turned once again to the proprietor to defend them, complaining that they were reduced nearly to slavery, but the proprietor ignored their petitions. Alienated Catholics eventually allied with Maryland Protestants in a revolt against both the proprietor and England. The coming of the American Revolution turned out to be their salvation, restoring to Catholics the right to practice their faith openly and without penalty and removing the stigma of being Papists in a Protestant age.

NOTES

1. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the Countess D'Azouer[?], September 20, 1771, item 492, in Ronald Hoffman, ed., *Charles Carroll of Carrollton Family Papers*, microfilm edition (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1985). Several Catholics, including Charles Carroll the Settler, were briefly imprisoned, but none suffered hanging. An earlier version of this essay was presented at the 1996 Annual Conference of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The author wishes to thank Denvy Bowman, Lois Green Carr, Sylvia Frey, Stephen Hardy, Ronald Hoffman, and Sally Mason for their comments and suggestions.

2. For the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, the most important work is Lois Green Carr and David Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), especially ch. 1 for the background of the Revolution. The best general history of colonial Maryland is Aubrey Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981). Many of the relevant documents are printed in William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-1972), vol. 8.

3. Charles Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:125-26.

4. Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:125-26; Peter Sayer to Lord Baltimore, December 31, 1689, *ibid.*, 8:161.

5. "The Narrative of Coll. Henry Darnall late one of the Council of the Right Honble the Ld Proprietary of the Province of Maryld," December 31, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:156; Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, *ibid.*, 8:124.
6. Calvert quoted in Michael Graham, S.J., "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 47. For English Catholicism during this period, the most important work is John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
7. Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 53–64; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," ch. 2; James Hennesey, "Roman Catholicism: The Maryland Tradition," *Thought*, 51 (1976): 282–95; David W. Jordan, "'The Miracle of this Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649–1689," *Historian*, 47 (1985): 338–59; John D. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland during the Early Years, 1634–1649," *Catholic Historical Review*, 55 (1979): 49–75; John D. Krugler, "'With Promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634–1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 21–43.
8. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 63–64; George B. Scriven, "Religious Affiliation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 25 (1956): 220–29.
9. My discussion of the seventeenth-century Catholic community in Maryland is based on Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," especially ch. 3. For the experiences of a Catholic family, see Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), ch. 5.
10. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," ch. 4; Krugler, "Lord Baltimore," 38.
11. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 60–61, 80–82, 98, 231, 236–42; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 26–45; David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 97–137. For biographical sketches of these four men, see Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 236–37, 242–43, 245–48, 266–68.
12. "Articles of Surrender," *Archives of Maryland*, 8:107. One of the Associators, Gerard Slye, alleged in 1698 that the Jesuits' chapel at St. Mary's City had been closed in 1689 and implied that the other Catholic chapels had also been closed. See Gerard Slye to James Vernon, Secretary of State, May 26, 1698, and June 23, 1698, Colonial Office 5/719, Public Record Office, photostats at the Library of Congress (hereafter cited as PRO/LC).
13. The Establishment Act of 1692 was disallowed in England, as were subsequent acts passed in 1696 and 1700. A permanent establishment act finally passed in 1702. See Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692–1776*, Outstanding Studies in Early American History, ed. John Murrin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 8–26. The Catholic chapels likely reopened in 1692, when Governor Copley arrived with instructions allowing liberty of conscience to all people who were willing to live quietly. See Copley's instructions, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:273.
14. According to Michael Zuckerman in his seminal article on the formation of identity, when people feel expendable—as Catholics had become in Maryland—they begin to question their own identity and define others as adversaries. See "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 192–93, 195–97, 202.
15. Clergy of Maryland to Bishop Compton, May 14, 1698, Archives of the Bishop of London, Fulham Palace Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, microfilm at the Library of Con-

gress, 2:100–103 (hereafter cited as Fulham Papers); Council of Maryland to Lords of Trade, November 17, 1697, CO 5/714, folio 207, PRO/LC. Darnall was His Lordship's Agent and Receiver General, while Carroll was the Clerk of the Land Office. See Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 166, 169–70.

16. Thomas Brooke converted to Anglicanism around 1689. Henry Lowe also converted; however, in 1704, when he was elected to the lower house, he refused to take the required oaths and was denied a seat. These are the only conversions to Protestantism among the Catholic gentry in the 1690s. The only notable conversions later in the colonial period all came in the 1730s, when Dr. Charles Carroll, Henry Darnall III, and John Darnall all converted. See Beatriz B. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1993), 85–86, 239–41.

17. Michael Graham estimated that between 31.3 and 37.5 percent of Catholic testators in the 1680s made bequests to the church, compared to between 51.5 and 61.8 percent in the 1690s. See Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 374.

18. John Bossy has argued that the principal characteristic of the English Catholic experience involved a three-step process of separation from other Englishmen, through the observance of their own seasonal calendar, adoption of an exclusive practice of the Mass, and development of an exclusive discipline of rites of passage. See Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 108, 144.

19. John Londey's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 2, folios 259–61, Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA); Frances Morgan Sayer's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 6, folios 166–67, MSA; Henrietta Maria Lloyd's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 7, folio 252, MSA; Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 6: folios 169–73, MSA.

20. Governor Francis Nicholson's proclamation, March 29, 1698, printed in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (London: privately printed, 1878; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1969), 4:24–25; Clergy of Maryland to Bishop Compton, May 14, 1698, Fulham Papers, 2:100–103.

21. Nicholson's proclamation, March 29, 1698, Perry, *Historical Collections*, 4:24–25; Nicholson's proclamation, July 23, 1698, *Archives of Maryland*, 23:470–71; *Archives of Maryland*, 22:497.

22. *King v. Neale*, Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber S No. 1, folio 309, and Liber A No. 2, folio 1, MSA.

23. Charles County Court Record, Liber A No. 2, folios 136–37, MSA. James Neale and Anthony Neale were brothers.

24. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:46. The English law was An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery, 11 Will. 3, c. 4; for the Maryland law, see *Archives of Maryland*, 26:181, 289, 340–41. The Jesuits tore down the St. Mary's City chapel in 1705; see John D. Krugler and Timothy Riordan, "'Scandalous and Offensive to the Government': The 'Popish Chappel' at St. Mary's City, Maryland and the Society of Jesus, 1634 to 1705," *Mid-America*, 73 (1991): 208.

25. "The humble remonstrance of the severall Roman Catholicks hereunto subscribed for and on the behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Maties Roman Catholick Subjects within this Province of Maryland," CO 5/715, PRO/LC. The existing copy of this petition is unsigned; however, a follow-up petition in 1706 was signed by four men: Henry Darnall I, Charles Carroll the Settler, James Carroll, and Richard Bennett III. See *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 591.

26. "The humble remonstrance of the severall Roman Catholicks hereunto subscribed for

and on the behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Maties Roman Catholick Subjects within this Province of Maryland,” CO 5/715, PRO/LC. Despite Catholic claims, the charter did not actually mention religious liberty.

27. Michael J. Graham, S.J., “‘The Collapse of Equity’: Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692–1720,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 9–10; Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 111–30.

28. *Archives of Maryland*, 30:372–74, 421, 512, 520, 613–17 and 33:225–78, 287–89; Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber VD2, folios 158, 359–60, MSA; Ronald Hoffman, “‘Marylando-Hibernus’: Charles Carroll the Settler, 1660–1720,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 226–34; Bernard C. Steiner, “The Restoration of the Proprietary of Maryland and the Legislation against the Roman Catholics during the Governorship of Captain John Hart (1714–1720),” *American Historical Association Annual Report*, I (1899): 231–307.

29. Peter Attwood, “Liberty and Property or The Beauty of Maryland displayed, Being a brief and candid Search into her Charter Fundamental Laws and Constitution,” Peter Attwood Papers, Early Maryland Jesuit Papers, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University. Attwood’s essay is also discussed in Gerald Fogarty, S.J., “Property and Religious Liberty in Colonial Maryland Catholic Thought,” *Catholic Historical Review*, 72 (1986): 586–90.

30. Attwood had accompanied Charles Carroll on a 1714 expedition to determine the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the Carroll accounts include payments to him in 1721; see James Logan to Thomas Grey, March 29, 1714, printed in “Father Peter Attwood the Jesuit Surveyor of the Boundary Between Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1714,” *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 7 (1890): 154–55, and John Digges Account Book, 1720–1749, folios 1–2, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Attwood in 1712 had described Darnall as being “extreamly obliging.” See Attwood to William Killick, December 21, 1712, *Archives of Maryland*, 25:329–32.

31. Attwood, “Liberty and Property,” folio 9.

32. *Ibid.*, folio 12. No other Catholic document mentions this charge against Governor Seymour.

33. *Ibid.*, folios 10–15.

34. *Archives of Maryland*, 33:368; Black Books, Maryland State Papers, 8:43, MSA.

35. *Archives of Maryland*, 34:4, 55, 108.

36. For a discussion of the transition in leadership, see Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 182–89.

37. “The humble address of the Roman Catholicks of the Province of Maryland,” 1727, and “The humble Address of ye Roman Catholick Inhabitants of ye province of Maryland,” 1732, both in #5S1, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University (hereafter cited as AMPSJ). The latter address was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 28, 1732.

38. *Lord Proprietary against William Fothergill*, Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber EI10, folio 232, MSA. Some Catholics did drink to the Pretender’s health, but there was no incident as serious as the firing of cannons in Annapolis during the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. See Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber EI10, folios 65, 222–23, MSA; Anne Arundel County Court Judgment Record, Liber IB6, folios 138–143, MSA. Governor Thomas Bladen, whose mother was Catholic, met with the Jesuit superior and urged the Jesuits to avoid having large gatherings, to prevent any trouble. See *Archives of Maryland*, 28:355–57.

39. Dr. Charles Carroll and Charles Carroll of Annapolis were the co-executors of the will of their kinsman James Carroll, but Dr. Carroll was the one who actually controlled the estate.

For Dr. Carroll's initial recommendation to enforce the penal laws, see *Archives of Maryland*, 46:549–50. Charles Carroll of Annapolis responded in dramatic fashion by nailing a notice denouncing Dr. Carroll's embezzlement on the State House door; see *Archives of Maryland*, 46:572–73, 583. The story of the dispute over the estate can be found in a letter written by Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, December 16, 1758, *Archives of Maryland*, 9:315–18, and in an undated petition, probably from the late 1750s, apparently addressed to Lord Baltimore, entitled, "A short acct of ye state & condition of ye Rom. Cath. in ye Provice of Maryland, collected from authentick copys of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys," #5R4, AMPSJ.

40. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 266–67.

41. "The Petition of sundry the Roman Catholics in Behalf of themselves and all others of the same Communion, residing in the Province aforesaid," Add. MSS, 15489, folios 71–72, British Library, microfilm at the Library of Congress (hereafter cited as BL/LC). In addition to petitioning the upper house, Maryland Catholics also petitioned Lord Baltimore. See "The Representation of several Gentlemen, Merchants, Planters and others, Inhabitants in the sd Province of Maryland in America," Add. MSS, 15489, folios 65–66, BL/LC.

42. "The humble Petition and Remonstrance of Charles Carroll on Behalf of himself and all the other Roman Catholics of the Province of Maryland," Add. MSS, 15489, folio 71, BL/LC. Charles Carroll of Annapolis was the son of Charles Carroll the Settler.

43. *Archives of Maryland*, 9:316, 46:534, 566–69, 593–98, 50:51–58, 66–67, 177–78, 198–205, 249–50, 419–22, 513–19, and 52:159–60, 189–91, 274–78, 325, 356–60, 376. Richard Brooke to the Calvert County delegates, February 25, 1752, #5W3, AMPSJ; "Letter to the Public," *Maryland Gazette*, March 14, 1754. For an account of the attacks by the lower house and the defense of Catholics by the upper house during the 1750s, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," ch. 6.

44. Catholics owned a total of 316,150 acres in 1759, according to "An Account of the Number of Acres of Land in each County, in the Province of Maryland; distinguishing what Number of Acres are held by Protestants, and what Number of Acres are held by Papists, in each County, as it was returned by the several Collectors of the Land Tax on Sept. 29, 1759," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 35 (January 1765): 15. At one shilling per hundred acres, the total annual tax came to £158.1.6 current money for the entire colony.

45. The charges were eventually dropped for lack of evidence. See Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, April 7, 1757, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:539–40; Cecilius Calvert to Joshua Sharpe, April 31 [sic], 1757, #582, Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, December 26, 1756, *Archives of Maryland*, 9:117.

46. "The Petition of sundry Roman Catholics in behalf of themselves and others of the same Communion residing in the Province aforesaid," #5S1, AMPSJ; "The Case of the R.C. in Maryland," #5R2, AMPSJ; "A short acct of ye state & condition of ye Rom. Cath. in ye Provice of Maryland, collected from authentick copys of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys," #5R4, AMPSJ; "The Petition of Sundry Ro Catholics on behalf of themselves, and others of the same Communion residing in the Province," #5T1, AMPSJ.

47. Be-10, Mos-1, Ca-3, American Catholic Sermon Collection, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University. Beadnall preached his sermon at St. Inigoes in St. Mary's County and three private homes on the Eastern Shore. Mosley gave his sermon in 1758 at Cobs Neck in Charles County, while James Carroll preached his sermon in 1756 at Crosby's on the Eastern Shore.

48. Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 6, 1759, item 169, Carroll Papers microfilm.

49. Stephen Hopkins, *The Rights of Colonies Examined*, in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 1:507–508. For a discussion of the revolutionaries' fear of slavery, see Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 155–58, and Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 132–39; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 380–87.
50. “A short Account of ye proceedings of ye Assembly of Maryland in regard to ye Rom: Catholicks settled there, together with a justification of their conduct, & behavior, ye whole proved from authentick copy's of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys,” #5R3, AMPSJ; *Maryland Gazette*, May 27, 1756. The story of Carroll's journey to France emerges in the correspondence in the Carroll Papers microfilm. For example, see items 84, 94, 113, and 118.
51. Dr. Henry Jerningham to Don Antonio de Ulloa, November 28, 1767, printed in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945*, vol. 2, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765–1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), 36–37. The Spanish records include a list of the names of all the German and Acadian settlers. See Alexandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga, December 10, 1769; John Steel and other seamen of *La Bretana* to Alexandro O'Reilly, November 20, 1769; List of German and Acadian families who went by an English vessel to New Orleans to settle; all printed in Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 2:135–42. Although the documents do not specifically state that these settlers came from Maryland, the names of the crew readily identify them as coming from St. Mary's County, Maryland, where Dr. Jerningham also lived.
52. For the chapel network, see Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 540.
53. *Ibid.*, 190, 250, 316, 330–33, 346, 358; for a list of most of the Marylanders who joined religious orders, see Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, 2d ed. (Abell, Md.: n.p., 1976), 313–21.
54. There were two petitions, the first signed by Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall of Portland Manor, and 256 others and the second by Carroll alone. The originals no longer exist, but unsigned copies survive; see “Ye Petition of ye RC to Mr Dennett relating to V.A.,” July 16, 1765, #202K6, and Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Bishop Richard Challoner, July 16, 1765, #202K7, AMPSJ. The text of these petitions is printed in Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815)* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922), 154–56.
55. Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 359–71.
56. *Ibid.*, 319–20. For example, Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to his father from St. Omers on March 22, 1750: “Most of our Marylandians do very well, and they are said to be as good as any, if not the best boys in the house.” See item 43, Carroll Papers microfilm.
57. The letters in the newspaper debate are printed in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antillon-First Citizen Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). See also Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), ch. 5.
58. For the coming of the Revolution in Maryland, the best source is Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension*. The committees included at least seventeen Catholics in St. Mary's County and twenty-eight in Prince George's County. See the *Maryland Gazette*, November 10, 1774, November 24, 1774, January 5, 1775, and January 26, 1775.



The Calvert family crest on the Maryland State seal represented religious liberty to colonists. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1739.)

A Plea for Maryland Catholics Reconsidered

TRICIA T. PYNE

Twenty-five years ago this journal published a long overlooked petition that historian David Jordan came across while researching in London's Public Record Office.¹ Submitted in 1691 on behalf of Maryland's Catholic community by Don Manuel Coloma, the Spanish ambassador to the English court, the petition was a plea for the crown to intervene in the colony's affairs and restore to it the condition of religious liberty. Although the petition has provided us with some insight as to what conditions were like for members of Maryland's Catholic community in the years immediately preceding the Protestant Rebellion of 1689, its historical significance has never been fully understood. The purpose of this article will be to reconsider the implications of this petition in light of recent scholarship on the Glorious Revolution and its legacy in British imperial policy.²

The wording of the petition suggested that a campaign of persecution had been carried out against the Catholic community in the wake of the rebellion, with claims that chapels had been seized and their priests forced to flee the colony under the threat of imprisonment.³ The allegations made in the petition have never been verified. Petitions sent by supporters of the proprietor to the king following the rebellion suggest that the rebellion's leaders attempted to forcefully suppress opposition to their government.⁴ The actions we know were taken against Catholics were principally political in nature: the government confiscated all arms and ammunition, issued a declaration barring Catholics from holding civil or military offices, and locked the doors of the great brick chapel at St. Mary's City.⁵ These acts addressed the source of the growing tensions between Protestants and Catholics in Maryland preceding the Rebellion: Protestant fear and resentment over the influence that Catholics wielded in the colony.

The crown's decision to assume political control of Maryland in 1690 "out of a case of necessity" resulted in its being administered as a royal colony until 1715, when Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights were restored. Although the royal period is one of the most studied in the Catholic community's history, the lack of sources limits our ability to interpret how the community responded to Maryland's becoming a royal colony, especially in regard to religious practice.

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We are left with only a vague sense of what conditions were like for Maryland Catholics during these years.

As a royal colony, Maryland's government was administered by a governor appointed by the crown. Each governor arrived with instructions outlining his duties and powers as executive and requiring him to correspond regularly with the Council of Trade and Plantations, one of several offices established to regulate colonial affairs.⁶ The royal governor acted as the crown's representative in the colony, and, as such, was responsible for interpreting and enforcing imperial policy there.⁷ The royal governor implemented policy determined by the king and his advisers, not that of the Maryland assembly, a distinction critical to understanding the policy pursued in regard to Catholics throughout the royal period.

The instructions sent with Colonel Lionel Copley, Maryland's first royal governor, directed him to administer the colony according to the laws and statutes "as now are in force" there.⁸ The crown's intention to maintain existing conditions are reflected in a report sent by the attorney general to the Lords of Trade and Plantations regarding the content of a draft commission for Colonel Copley: "I understand the seizure of the Government to be for necessity, as the only means of preserving the province; but though the Government is taken out of the hands of those who endangered it, the laws and customs are to remain as far as may be the same."⁹ A separate order instructed Governor Copley to extend the privilege of liberty of conscience to Catholics.¹⁰ Unfortunately, neither the instructions nor the surviving correspondence of the governor provide us with any insight for this decision, which until recently has gone unexplained.¹¹

One possible explanation can be found in the policy of liberty of conscience William III implemented during his reign as king of England.¹² In describing the accomplishments of William III, historian Jonathan Israel wrote: "Possibly no other major statesman of early modern times came to be so closely associated with the cause of liberty of conscience in his own time and made so considerable a contribution to the advancement of religious and intellectual freedom in the Western world as the Stadholder-king." An examination of William's policy in light of his commitment to the issue of liberty of conscience led Israel to conclude that William worked to secure toleration privileges for both non-conforming Protestants and Catholics during his reign as king of England. Traditional interpretations of the Glorious Revolution associated William's invasion of England with the Protestant cause. Israel rejected this portrayal of William's motives as too narrow and instead related the Dutch prince's actions in England to his overall objective of defeating Louis XIV in his native Holland's ongoing war with France. While William promoted his mission within England as a defense of Protestantism, outside the country's borders he waged an intensive diplomatic and propaganda campaign to convince Europe's monarchs of his commitment to protecting the religious practices of England's Catholics after as-



William III's seal replaced the Calvert family crest on the Maryland governor's seal in 1689. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1739.)

suming the throne.¹³ He detailed his position in the widely circulated *Lettre écrite par monsieur Fagel*:

*que l'on no doit faire violence à aucun Chrétien en sa conscience, et que l'on ne doit maltraiter personne, à cause qu'il diffère de la religion établie et dominante; c'est pourquoi ils peuvent bien consentir que les papistes en Angleterre, Ecosse, et Irlande soient soufferts avec la meme liberté de religion qui leur est accordée par les États dans ces provinces, dans lesquelles on ne peut pas nier qu'ils ne jouissent d'une pleine liberté de conscience.*¹⁴

William defended the right to freedom of conscience in a state with an established church and in the letter revealed the policy he would pursue. As king he would recognize the right of the individual to practice his or her religious beliefs within stated guidelines while at the same time upholding the unique position and authority of the Anglican Church. He achieved limited recognition of the rights of Protestant Dissenters in the 1689 Act of Toleration.¹⁵ In an effort to gain further recognition for the rights of Dissenters, he introduced legislation calling for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, a measure that would have removed the barriers that prevented *all* non-Anglicans from holding public office, but was rebuffed by Parliament.¹⁶ Historian John Bossy notes that William even proposed a new Oath of Fidelity for Catholics that would have enabled them to swear allegiance to the crown without any theological objections. Had Parliament enacted this measure, Catholics would have been freed from the penalties of recusancy and accorded the same privileges as Protestant Dissenters under the 1689 Act of Toleration.¹⁷ Resistance by members of Parliament to his pro-

posals for legislative reform forced William to exercise his royal powers through unofficial channels to obtain limited toleration for Protestant Dissenters and Catholics during his reign.¹⁸

Recognizing that the treatment of Catholics within the British empire varied from region to region, William chose not to enforce a uniform policy but to protect existing practices.¹⁹ For Catholics in England, that meant the privilege to continue practicing their religion in the privacy of their homes. For Catholics in Maryland, however, the implications of William's policy were much greater. If the crown instructed royal governors sent to Maryland to maintain the colony's existing laws, they would be obligated to uphold and protect the right of Catholics to practice their religion under the conditions established by Lord Baltimore. If Catholics were allowed to resume worshipping publicly, and it appears that they did, it greatly helps to explain the problems that followed.²⁰

William had not articulated the conditions of the crown's policy on liberty of conscience beyond stating that protected religious groups were not to give "offense or scandal to the government."²¹ Because the king had left the terms of his policy ambiguous, confusion over what constituted offensive behavior led to uncertainty concerning the governor's authority in enforcing those terms. Lacking power to impose his own conditions on the situation, the royal governor sent to Maryland found himself with no choice but to uphold the rights of a group he felt were violating royal policy. Perhaps British officials were unaware that Catholics in Maryland practiced their religion under the most liberal conditions in the empire, with virtually no restrictions placed on their religious practices. The seemingly dissonant policy enacted by Maryland's first three royal governors, Lionel Copley, Francis Nicholson, and Nathaniel Blakiston, of promoting the establishment of the Anglican Church while extending toleration privileges to Catholics can now be understood: they were implementing William's policy on liberty of conscience.

Placed into this context, the petition submitted by the Spanish ambassador on behalf of the Maryland Catholic community takes on added significance. Spain, a Catholic country, had been one of William's most valued allies in his native Holland's war against France. Spanish officials had expressed great concern over the treatment of England's Catholic population. William recognized that he could not risk losing Spain's support by allowing his planned invasion of England to be associated with the persecution of Catholics. To put his ally's concerns to rest, William not only personally informed Spanish officials of his intention to extend toleration privileges to Catholics but after taking the throne met with Spain's ambassador to England to reassure him of his intentions.²² The petition's allegations that Catholic chapels had been attacked and the evident fear of reprisals against the Catholic community may or may not have reflected the reality in Maryland but did reflect conditions in England. Following the over-

throw of James II, a wave of anti-Catholic violence struck London, where roaming mobs attacked Catholic citizens, pillaged the homes of wealthy Catholics, and sacked both neighborhood and embassy chapels, including that of the Spanish ambassador.²³ Only after William sent in his army to occupy London was the violence brought under control. Although we have no evidence that anything comparable occurred in Maryland, the anti-Catholic hysteria in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution was very real to Spain's ambassador and may help to explain his willingness to intercede on behalf of Maryland Catholics.

The wording of the ambassador's petition also bears closer reading. Maryland's Catholic community was almost certainly unaware of William's intention to extend the privilege of liberty of conscience to Catholics. The Spanish ambassador, however, had received William's personal assurances that Catholics would be allowed to practice their religion unhindered in England and her dominions. Ambassador Coloma made veiled reference to William's promise when he wrote: "Tous ces outrages, comme nous croions, ont etes faits contre le vouloir, l'ordres, ou le scavoir des leur Majestes Guillaume et Marie." ["We believe that all of these outrages were carried out against the will, the orders, or the knowledge of their Majesties William and Mary."] ²⁴ Coloma clearly attributed the actions taken against Maryland's Catholics to leaders of the rebellion and not to royal policy. When requesting the crown to intervene on behalf of the community to ensure that they would be allowed to resume their religious practices, then, he was asking William to follow through on his promise to instruct the colony's government of his new policy on liberty of conscience.

Although neither Governors Copley nor Blakiston left any observations on their relationships with the Catholic community, Governor Nicholson's records do provide us with some detail. It is nevertheless clear that with the arrival of the first royal governor in 1692, decisions regarding the treatment of Catholics were removed from local authority and placed under royal purview.

Governor Nicholson treated the Catholic community fairly during his tenure in Maryland. In observance of his instructions, he acknowledged the right of Catholics to freely practice their religion and reopened the great brick chapel for public worship soon after he took office in July 1694. In another gesture of tolerance, he returned the arms that had been seized from Catholics in the wake of the rebellion.²⁵ Yet by the time he left the colony in 1698, his relationship with the Catholic community had turned adversarial, in many ways reflecting the flaws and inadequacies of the royal policy he had been instructed to implement just four years earlier.

"Zealous Papists"

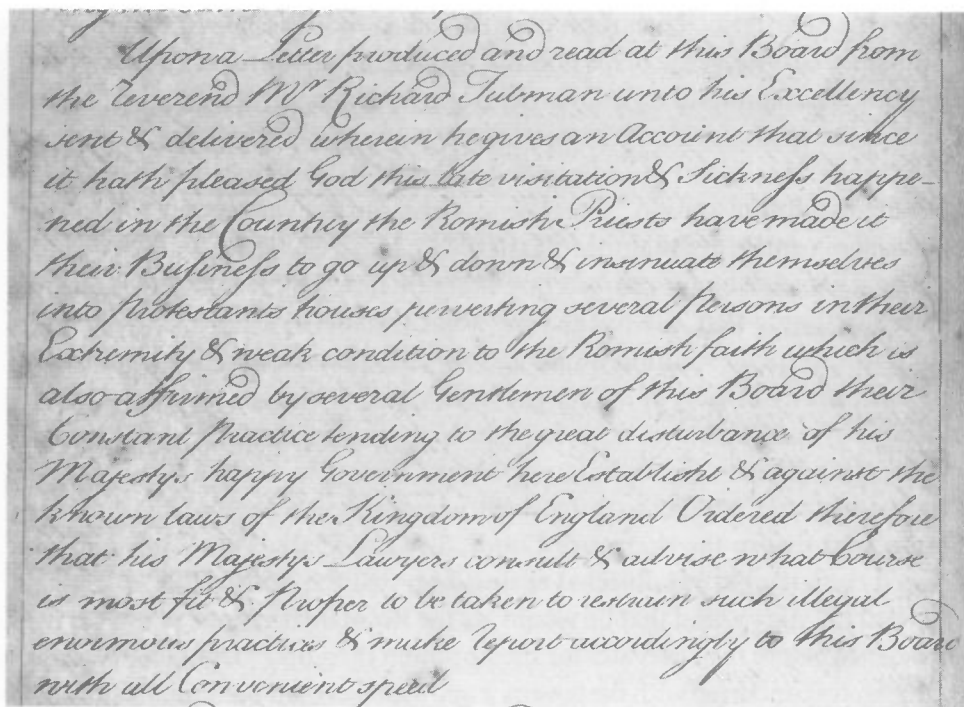
From surviving records it appears that, from the time the great brick chapel at St. Mary's City was reopened in 1694 until the enactment of the first penal

laws ten years later under Governor Seymour, Catholics returned to the practices they had observed under Lord Baltimore.²⁶ They held public services and, to the consternation of the larger Protestant community, resumed proselytizing with the same if not increased intensity. Very likely Catholics believed the continuance of their toleration privileges came not from the crown but from Lord Baltimore's charter, which they were convinced was still in effect.²⁷ Confusion over the nature of the privileges extended to Catholics is probably to blame for the breakdown in relations between the royal governor and the Catholic community. If Catholics were of the opinion that they still held the rights guaranteed them under Lord Baltimore's charter, being those of liberty, property, and freedom of conscience, then they surely thought they held the right to practice their religion without restriction. The privileges granted by William III in the royal instructions, however, were not those of religious liberty but of liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of conscience" in seventeenth-century England, according to political theorist Gordon Schochet, referred to "one's entitlement, within certain limits having to do with order and public peace, to hold and act upon religious convictions that were contrary to the established practices." "Religious Liberty," on the other hand, was understood to mean a recognition of the right of all individuals to practice their religion without interference from the state. Religious liberty hinted at disestablishment of the Anglican Church, a subject that was inappropriate for the period in which this debate was taking place, except in Maryland, where such had been the practice for sixty years.²⁸

Although Governor Nicholson had exercised restraint, even tolerance, in his treatment of Catholics, his patience apparently began to wear thin over the issue of proselytization. What brought Nicholson's temper to the boiling point were complaints from Protestant colonists of Jesuit proselytizing during an epidemic that swept through the lower colonies in 1697.²⁹ That Jesuit missionaries and certain "zealous Papists" attempted to convert the sick and dying led the governor to issue a proclamation condemning their activities. Nicholson also used this occasion to accuse members of the community of restraining their Protestant servants from attending Sunday services. To ensure that the colonists were made aware of his actions, he commanded "the several Sheriffs of the Province to publish this my Proclamation in all Churches, Chapels, and other public places of worship and meeting." A copy of the proclamation was also hand-delivered to Jesuit superior William Hunter with the instructions that he show its contents to the other missionaries.³⁰

Nicholson's proclamation was an effort on his part to take control of the situation and establish guidelines for what constituted "scandalous and offensive behavior." When he ordered the community to desist in their efforts "to seduce, delude, and persuade divers of His Majesty's good Protestant subjects to the Romish faith,"



Upon a Letter produced and read at this Board from the Reverend Mr Richard Tully unto his Excellency sent & delivered wherein he gives an Account that since it hath pleased God this late visitation & Sicknefs happened in the Countrey the Romish Priests have made it their Business to go up & down & inuade themselves into protestants houses perverting several persons in their Extremity & weak condition to the Romish faith which is also affirmed by several Gentlemen of this Board their constant practice tending to the great disturbance of his Majestys happy Government here Establishd & against the known laws of the Kingdom of England Ordered therefore that his Majestys Lawyers consult & advise what Course is most fit & proper to be taken to restrain such illegal & unwarrantable practices & make Report accordingly to this Board with all convenient speed

Maryland's Jesuits ministering to the sick resulted in complaints to royal governor Francis Nicholson in 1698. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 1071.)

he was clearly identifying proselytizing as lying outside the privilege of liberty of conscience granted by the crown. When he argued that any Catholic who continued in this activity did so in "open violation of His Majesty's known laws, under pain of prosecution and suffering such penalties as by the s[ai]d Laws are prescribed," however, he was in fact asserting for the first time that English penal laws carried over into the colony. It is uncertain whether Nicholson mistakenly assumed that the penal laws went into effect in Maryland when it became a royal colony or if was he attempting to reinterpret English policy on the issue.³¹

Nicholson's proclamation reflected his anger and frustration at the existing conditions under which Catholics worshipped as well as with the failure of British officials to provide him with guidance on how to deal with this issue. His desire to punish "Roman recusants" with the "severest penalties" remained no more than a threat, for he lacked the necessary legal measures to make good his intentions.³² Undeterred by Nicholson's outburst, Catholics, as the records show, continued to proselytize their Protestant servants and neighbors. Nicholson for his part continued to allow Catholics to worship publicly as he was instructed to do, but he began to express his contempt of their behavior. "That idolatrous Religion will still continue as it is, if not increase," he wrote to the Bishop of London, "but I intend (God willing) to put all the Rubs I can, in their way."³³

Even as Governor Nicholson complained to the Bishop of London about Catholics' behavior, some of his political opponents were writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations to register "articles of crimes and misdemeanours" against him.³⁴ A list of sundry charges intended to slander Nicholson's character circulated through Maryland in addition to being sent to Whitehall, in an attempt to discredit his administration.³⁵ Portraying Nicholson as a vain and irreverent man who held in contempt the authorities of the Anglican Church, his detractors cast further aspersions on his character by charging him with favoring the Catholic Church.³⁶ Stating that "He opened the popish chapel at St. Maries, which was shut up from the Revolution till his arrival, and then allowed them publicly to say mass, nearly in view of a Court of Justice,"³⁷ they mistakenly attributed the crown's policy of liberty of conscience to Nicholson in the hope of calling into question his fealty to the state. In response to these attacks, Nicholson referred his treatment of Catholics to the council, whose minutes noted: "The Governor pointed out that in the charges of Coode, Slye and Clarke [the three men who penned the letter] it was objected against him that the Roman Catholics had a chapel at St. Mary's, and that he would lay the Royal instructions as to liberty of conscience before the Delegates for their opinion thereon."³⁸ Upon deliberation, the delegates concurred with the governor and stated as their opinion that Catholic behavior had not violated "the Royal Instructions as to liberty of conscience."³⁹ The council in effect upheld Nicholson's interpretation of the royal instructions and permitted Catholics to continue worshipping publicly. The vagueness of the policy, however, led to increasingly tense and confrontational relations with the Catholic community in the years to come.

Nicholson was recalled by the crown in 1698 to become governor of Virginia. His successor, Nathaniel Blakiston, is known more for his willingness to comply with the colonists' wishes than any desire to pursue the reforms his predecessors had initiated. His stay in Maryland was marked by his amicable relationship with the assembly and little else. Not much is known about relations between the Catholic and Protestant communities during these years, and only one reference in the records of the Maryland assembly has survived to provide us with any insight. In July 1699, the lower house noted that it had received complaints about the proselytizing activities of the Jesuit William Hunter. After debating "whether it may not be Adviseable that the said Hunter be wholly silenced and not suffered to preach or say Mass in any part of this province," the lower house decided to refer the matter to the governor. It was not mentioned again, revealing that it was Blakiston who chose to remain silent.⁴⁰ The actions of the lower house can be interpreted as an effort on the part of the delegates to more clearly define how Catholics could practice their religion under the crown's policy of liberty of conscience, with proselytizing considered to lie outside the bounds of this privilege.

Blakiston left the colony in 1702 for England. Unhappy with his post as governor, he had submitted his resignation to the crown in 1701. Before departing, Blakiston assigned his powers to Councillor Thomas Tench, who thereby became president of the council and served in that position until the crown's next appointee arrived in the colony.

To his credit, Blakiston achieved one political victory denied his predecessors—royal confirmation of the Act of Establishment.⁴¹ After a ten-year legislative struggle between the governor and the assembly, the Anglican Church was in 1702 officially recognized to be the established church of the colony. Accompanying this decision was an increased interest on the part of the crown in the religious conditions of the colony. King William died in 1702, to be succeeded by Queen Anne, and in 1703 the crown revoked the privilege of liberty of conscience as it applied to Catholics, a development that would have tremendous implications for the Maryland Catholic community.

"You and All Your Tribe"

The friendly relations the assembly enjoyed with Blakiston and Tench came to an abrupt end with the arrival of Colonel John Seymour. A brash and often abrasive man, Seymour had been serving with the Coldstream Guards in Flanders when he received his appointment in January 1703.⁴² His departure for Maryland was delayed until the following winter so that he did not arrive in the colony until late April 1704. Just two days before he presented his commission to the assembly, that body undertook to restrict Catholics for the first time since Nicholson's proclamation six years earlier. "Moved by a member that measures may be taken to Suppress Popish Priests," a bill had been introduced into the lower house calling for measures to curb proselytizing activities by Jesuits.⁴³ Debate surrounding the bill has not survived, and for reasons not stated in the assembly's records for that session it was not referred to again. Seymour was apparently aware of the bill, because he later commented in a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations: "I had no sooner met H. M. Council, but severall complaints were brought me, of the audacious misbehaviour of the Romish Clergy in this Province."⁴⁴ Perhaps the newly-arrived governor requested that the bill be tabled until the fall session, possibly because he wanted to draft a more comprehensive piece of legislation for restricting Catholic practices. As he wrote in a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations, a comment reflective of changing attitudes in the royal court: "My Instructions in this point are different from what other Governors here have had, theirs being to admitt of liberty of conscience to all who behaved themselves . . . but mine to all such but Papists."⁴⁵

Knowledge of this bill helps explain events as they unfolded the following autumn. It also indicates that the movement for penal measures originated in the assembly and not with Seymour.⁴⁶ Presiding over his first full session of the

March 1702

At a sessions of assembly¹⁷⁰²
 Begun and held att the port of Anna-
 polis in the province of Maryland
 On the Sixteenth day of March
 Anno Domini 1702

An act for The Establishm^t of Religious

Worship in this Province According to the Church of England: and
 for the Maintenance of Ministers

For as much as in well grounded Apion common Wealth
 Matters concerning Religion and the honour of God ought in the first place to be
 taken into consideration: And hence we Endeavour to Obtain to such good ends as
 Countenanced and Encouraged as being not only most acceptable to God: but
 the best way and means to Obtain his mercy and blessing upon a people or
 Country: Bee it therefore Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty:
 by and with the Advice and consent of this present General Assembly, that
 by the Authority of the same that the book of Common prayer and Administration
 of the Sacraments with other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according
 to the use of the Church of England: The psalter or psalmes of David: And
 Morning and Evening prayer therein Contained be solemnly read by all and
 every Minister or Reader in every Church: what now is or here after shall
 be settled and Established: within this Province: And that all Congregations and
 places for publick Worshipp according to the usage of the Church of England
 within this Province: for the Maintenance of whose Ministers: and the pers-
 onification therein any certain moneys or Revenue is or shall be by the
 Laws of this Province be Established and Enjoyed to be raised or paid
 that

assembly in September, Seymour wasted no time in setting forth his priorities. He immediately issued a summons for Jesuits William Hunter and Robert Brooke to appear before him on charges related to their pastoral activities. The exchange that followed has often been pointed to as an example of the indignities Maryland Catholics were forced to endure during the penal years, but Seymour's reprimand bears closer reading for what it tells us of the new policy toward the Catholic community.

Seymour's selection of Hunter and Brooke as well as the charges brought against them—that of consecrating a new chapel in Charles County and saying mass at the great brick chapel in St. Mary's City while the county court was in session—were calculated. William Hunter was at that time the superior of the Maryland mission and the subject of numerous complaints for his proselytizing efforts. Robert Brooke, the first native Marylander to be ordained a Jesuit, was a member of a prominent Catholic family. Both were visible and influential leaders of the Catholic community. The charges against them, too, must have alarmed the Catholic population. In the past, complaints directed against Maryland Catholics had focused on their controversial proselytizing activities. Seymour's charges, however, were related to their pastoral labors within the Catholic community, incidents, moreover, that had taken place a full fourteen months earlier.⁴⁷ That would date them to the first months of 1703, a period when Catholics still held the privilege of liberty of conscience. Was Seymour claiming that they had violated the conditions of this privilege by openly conducting religious services and in building public chapels for their community's worship?

As was the case with Seymour's predecessors, instructions regarding British policy toward Catholics were vague. The governor himself was uncertain which British penal laws applied to the colonies. In his correspondence with the Council of Trade and Plantations, Seymour attributed his decision to summon the two Jesuits before the Council to this confusion. Fear that a jury would dismiss the case against the Jesuits on this technicality persuaded him from taking them to court.⁴⁸ Questions regarding this issue are evident throughout his correspondence to the Council of Trade and Plantations during his tenure as governor.

Seymour's encounter with Hunter and Brooke was well rehearsed. He clearly wanted to make an example of them and pointedly reprimanded their behavior as a warning for what lay ahead. The governor opened by chastising the Catholic community in general for ignoring the crown's revocation of their privileges and the implications should they continue to worship publicly. "It is the unhappy Temper of you and all your Tribe to grow insolent upon Civility and never

Opposite: The 1692 Act of Establishment made the Anglican Church the official church in Maryland. The Assembly confirmed the act in 1702. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 973-5.)

know how to use it." When the crown revoked the privilege of liberty of conscience, the Catholic community should have adapted its practices to conditions as they existed in England, where Catholics were restricted to worshipping in the privacy of their homes. The open disregard Maryland Catholics had displayed toward royal policy by continuing to worship publicly, for Seymour, gave "greate offence and scandall to H.M. Government" and warranted disciplinary measures.⁴⁹ "You might methinks be Content to live quietly as you may and let the Exercise of your Superstitious Vanities be confined to yourselves without proclaiming them at publick times and in publick places," Seymour observed, in what was surely a reflection of contemporary opinion regarding Catholics in English society.⁵⁰ Outwardly, a Catholic presence had been proclaimed illegal and was made the object of a series of penal laws aimed at discouraging its growth. In reality, their presence had been tacitly accepted, and, with the exception of a few periods, they were left to themselves as long as they behaved in a quiet and peaceable manner.⁵¹

Although Seymour clearly intended to have the penal laws enacted in the colony, he did articulate the unofficial position held by royal officials toward Catholics when he stated: "In plain and few words Gentlemen if you intend to live here let me hear no more of these things for if I do and they are made good against you be assured I'll chastize you. . . . Therefore as I told you I'll make but this one Tryal and advise you to be Civil and Modest for there is no other way for you to live quietly here."⁵² His statement is central to understanding the conditions that Catholics were to live under for the remainder of the colonial period. A Catholic presence in Maryland would be tolerated only if the community accepted the conditions as outlined by Seymour. Catholics were to worship privately and refrain from any overt displays of faith. The consequences for any violation of this policy were full prosecution under the penal laws. Seymour's intentions are further confirmed in his correspondence with the Council of Trade and Plantations, when he wrote of his encounter with the Jesuits: "I sent for them before myself and H.M. Councill, where I check'd them for their insolence, and very fairly caution'd them to take care of committing any further irregularitys, assuring them that they should not go unpunish'd, if proved."⁵³ Upon dismissing the priests, Seymour ordered that the doors to the great brick chapel in St. Mary's City be locked, never to be used for Catholic services again.⁵⁴

Two weeks later a revised version of the penal bill first proposed in April was submitted to the lower house. This time the bill was entitled "A Bill for Restraining the Growth of Popery" and encompassed a much wider range of activities identified as constituting behavior scandalous and offensive to the state. After a brief debate, delegates decided the bill needed further clarification. It was withdrawn and resubmitted a day later in its final form as the "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery within this Province."⁵⁵ The bill's evolution from one that



Members of the Society of Jesus arrived in Maryland with the founders in 1634. In this painting, entitled The First Landing of Leonard Calvert in Maryland (oil on canvas, by David Acheson Woodward, circa 1865–1870), Father Andrew White accompanies Calvert ashore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

sought merely to restrict the proselytizing activities of Jesuits to one that called for the total suppression of Catholic practices not only reflects the depth of anti-Catholic feeling in the colony but a newfound confidence on the part of the Maryland assembly to enact such severe measures. Just as the Maryland act was clearly modelled on the penal laws enacted by Parliament in 1700, so was this display of confidence related to the shift in imperial policy regarding the treatment of Catholics. Uncertain whether English penal laws applied to the colonies, the Maryland assembly decided to enact its own. Although Seymour did not admit to a role in drafting this bill, one cannot help but notice the similarities between the Maryland act and the one passed by Parliament four years earlier and attribute the former to the governor's influence.

Maryland Catholics would have to wait until the next legislative session before they could seek any recourse to these measures. When the assembly convened on December 5, 1704, a petition calling for repeal of the "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery within this Province" was submitted by a delegation formed to represent the Catholic community's interests. Upon reading the petition, the lower house, "inclined to indulge the Roman Catholicks in the private exercise of their Religion in their own houses and families," relented and drafted an act to suspend the prosecution of priests for performing their pastoral duties in the

private homes of Catholic families during the queen's pleasure.⁵⁶ Stating that "the true Intent of the said Act was only to restrain some exorbitant Accons [actions] in the said Popish Bishops Priests and Jesuits who it is hoped are thereby made sensible of their Extravagant Demeanour," the delegates apparently recognized that they had gone too far in enacting penal measures.⁵⁷ Interestingly enough, the English penal measures passed in 1700 also had their origins in complaints over the proselytizing of Catholic clergy and were initially written in an effort to curb them.⁵⁸ Although the Maryland delegates' admission that the intent of the penal measures was really to curb Jesuit proselytizing, their willingness to uphold the restriction of Catholic practices to within "a private family of the Roman Communion" reflected the animosity of the larger Protestant community toward public celebrations of Catholic services.⁵⁹

Queen Anne's approval of the repeal of the "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery within this Province" would not reach the colony until 1707 because of wartime delays in shipping, a situation that must have caused untold anxiety among members of the Maryland Catholic community.⁶⁰ The queen's decision to approve the repeal was probably related to a royal desire that Maryland's policy regarding Catholics be consonant with "unofficial" English practice. In his work with the English Catholic community, Hugh Trevor-Roper has argued that British officials were not interested in actively persecuting Catholics, only in containing their growth: "reality was milder than the law . . . and for them [Catholics] too, . . . tolerance *de facto* mitigated intolerance *de jure*."⁶¹ Approval freed the queen from having to officially instruct Seymour to allow Catholics to worship privately, meaning she would not have to compromise her public position of supporting the penal measures.

Reasons for the crown's decision to revoke the Catholic community's privilege of liberty of conscience in 1703 were not recorded. A possible explanation can be found in the political sea change England experienced in the years immediately preceding this decision. William III had been able to shield Catholics from the full force of the penal laws through the use of his political influence. An important indicator that William's political fortunes were beginning to shift, however, can be found in a set of penal laws enacted by Parliament in 1700 entitled an "Act for further preventing the growth of Popery." Historians have repeatedly referred to this act as an example of William's commitment to the Protestant cause, but John Bossy argues that such legislation instead represented the weakening of William's grasp over Parliament and the ascendancy of the Tory Party.⁶² The unofficial toleration that William had fought so hard to secure for England's Catholics was gradually being rolled back through Parliamentary reform, as represented in this act. William's death in 1702 signalled the end to this policy. Under his successor, Queen Anne, the allowances made for Catholics together with the lax enforcement of the penal laws

were brought to an end. In England, Catholics would be allowed to continue practicing their religion privately, but their public behavior would come under much closer scrutiny. In Maryland, the accession of Queen Anne brought the enactment of the colony's first penal laws and an end to religious practices as Catholics had known them. The religious practices of Maryland's Catholic community would now closely parallel those of their English co-religionists.

Past works have portrayed the royal period in Maryland's history as a time when Catholics were stripped of their political rights and subjected to increasing restrictions on their religious practices. It has been assumed that Lord Baltimore's "Maryland designe" was immediately dismantled upon the arrival of the first royal governor in 1692 and that the principle of religious liberty that had once distinguished Maryland from other British colonies was no longer recognized. Recent scholarship on the Glorious Revolution has called into question many of these assumptions, opening new avenues for examining this period in the Catholic community's history and reinforcing the need to study the history of colonial Maryland in its transatlantic context.

NOTES

1. The petition was reprinted in David W. Jordan, "A Plea for Maryland Catholics," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 434–35.
2. The recent tercentenary anniversary of the Glorious Revolution was appropriately marked with the publication of numerous studies that reassess the Revolution's legacy in British history. Two of the more significant works are Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) and J. R. Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured?: Britain Before and After 1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).
3. Jordan, "A Plea for Catholics," 434–35.
4. See William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. to date (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 8:147–49, 181–82. These petitions cite retaliatory acts against the proprietor's supporters, including imprisonment and the plundering of estates.
5. Ibid., 19:36, 8:107; Gerard Slye to Lords of Trade and Plantation, May 26, 1698, in Cecil Headlam, et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* [hereafter cited as CSP] (repr.; Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), October 1697–December 1698, vol. 16, #508.i, 246.
6. For a thorough discussion of the royal governor's powers, see: Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 244; I. R. Christie, *Crisis of Empire: Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1754–1783* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966), 16–17; and Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (repr.; New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 67–70.
7. Steele, *English Atlantic*, 244.
8. "Coll: Copley's Commission. June 27, 1691," *Archives of Maryland*, 8:263–64.
9. Order of Lords of Trade and Plantations—Referring to Draft Commission to Mr. Copley as Governor of Maryland to the Attorney General for Report. Signed William Blathwayt.

Report of the Attorney General on the Draft Commission, August 22, 1690, CSP, 1689–1692, vol. 8, #1028, 310.

10. "You are to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons EXCEPT PAPISTS, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offense or scandal to the government. A—Omit EXCEPT PAPISTS. Maryland: 1691–1703 A," reprinted in Leonard Woods Labaree, collator and editor, *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors 1670–1776*, 2 vols. (repr.; New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967), vol. 2, #714, 494. [Hereafter cited as *Royal Instructions*.]

11. Although the crown stated its intention to assume political control of the colony in the spring of 1690, it would be another full year before William III's advisers approved his plans to appoint a royal governor. The following December the Spanish ambassador to the English court, Don Manuel Coloma, presented a petition to the crown on behalf of Maryland's Catholic community. It is possible that the separate order instructing Governor Copley to grant liberty of conscience to Maryland's Catholics was related to the intervention of the Spanish ambassador.

12. For a thorough treatment of William III's position on liberty of conscience, see Jonathan I. Israel, "William III and Toleration," in Grell, Israel, and Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration*, 129–70; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Toleration and Religion after 1688," in *ibid.*, 389–408; and Gordon Schochet, "From Persecution to 'Toleration,'" in Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured?*, 122–57.

13. Israel, "William III and Toleration," 130, 137–38, 139.

14. "That no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, and that no one be mistreated because he differs from the predominant and established religion; that is why they can well agree that the Catholics of England, Scotland, and Ireland suffer the same religious freedom that is accorded them by the laws in these provinces, in which they should not be denied from enjoying the same full liberty of conscience." [Author's translation.] *Lettre écrite par Monsieur Fagel Pensionnaire de Hollande, à Monsieur Jacques Stewart, Advocat, pour l'informer des sentimens de leurs Altesses Royales, Monseigneur le Prince, et Madame Princesse sur l'abolition du Test et des Loix Penales* (The Hague, 1688), as quoted in Israel, "William III and Toleration," 138.

15. This act exempted Protestant Dissenters from the penalties of the various laws that had been enacted against them but did not place their religions on equal footing with the Anglican Church.

16. Trevor-Roper, "Toleration and Religion after 1688," 391.

17. John Bossy, "English Catholics after 1688," in Grell, Israel, and Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration*, 371.

18. Israel states that William used his political influence over members of the judiciary and Anglican hierarchy to circumvent the opposition he encountered in Parliament to his proposals for legislative reform. See Israel, "William III and Toleration," 155.

19. *Ibid.*, 138–39.

20. While Lionel Copley, the first royal governor sent to the colony, was instructed to extend the privilege of liberty of conscience to Maryland's Catholics, it is not known how vigorously he implemented this policy, if indeed he did, upon his arrival in the colony.

21. "Religious Liberty," *Royal Instructions*, vol. 2, #714, 494.

22. Israel, "William III and Toleration," 139–40, 149–50.

23. *Ibid.*, 146–47.

24. Jordan, "A Plea for Catholics," 435.

25. Gerard Slye to Council of Trade and Plantations, May 26, 1698, CSP, October 1697–December 1698, vol. 16, #508, 246; and *Archives of Maryland*, 19:36.

26. The author's contention that Catholics worshipped publicly during the period 1694–1704 is supported in the census Governor Nicholson requested of all Catholic places of worship in 1697. The county sheriff reported that there were eight freestanding chapels in the colony at that time. The sheriff's report was reprinted in William S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, vol. IV—*Maryland* (repr.; New York: AMS Press, 1969), 19–20.
27. Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore and founder of Maryland, had never officially extended the right of religious liberty to his settlers. Instead, he used his charter privileges, which granted him "the Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches" in the colony to prevent the establishment of a state church. Lord Baltimore's policy of religious toleration was later enacted into law by the Maryland assembly in the 1649 Act Concerning Religion. For a thorough treatment of this issue, see John Krugler, "'With promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634–1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 21–43.
28. Schochet, "From Persecution to 'Toleration,'" 127, 137.
29. Although not legally prohibited in Maryland, Catholic proselytizing of Protestants was considered an act of treason under the English penal laws. For an example of the complaints Governor Nicholson received, see: *Archives of Maryland*, 23:396; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (repr.; Hatboro, Penna.: Tradition Press, 1967), 1:364. Historians have been unable to identify the sickness that swept through the colony because of the lack of contemporary sources that discuss the symptoms associated with it. Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard believe the epidemic to have been an outbreak of influenza. See their discussion of this issue in "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 226.
30. "Proclamation against Papists," Annapolis, March 29, 1698, Document #98–99, Fulham Palace Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, Great Britain, microfilm, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [hereafter cited as FPP]. Reference to this proclamation can also be found in the Proceedings for the Council of the Maryland Assembly. See *Archives of Maryland*, 23:463, 468.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Francis Nicholson to Archbishop Tenison, May 26, 1698, Document #110–11, FPP.
34. Gerard Slye to Lords of Trade and Plantations, May 26, 1698, CSP, vol. 16, October 1697–December 1698, #508.i, 246.
35. For a complete treatment of the political conspiracy against Nicholson, see David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 197–202.
36. This was not the first time that Nicholson had been accused of being a papist sympathizer. Similar charges were made by supporters of Jacob Leisler during the political upheaval in the colony of New York in the period following the Glorious Revolution, when Nicholson had served as lieutenant governor of New York. See E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 2:1.
37. Gerard Slye to Lords of Trade and Plantations, May 26, 1698, CSP, October 1697–December 1698, vol. 16, #508.i, 246.
38. Minutes of the Council of Maryland in Assembly [copy sent to Lords of Trade and Plantations], October 24, 1698, CSP, October 1697–December 1698, vol. 16, #926, 504.
39. Journal of the House of Delegates [copy sent to Board of Trade and Plantations], Oct. 29, 1698, CSP, October 1697–December 1698, vol. 16, #925, 504.

40. *Archives of Maryland*, 22:308.
41. *Ibid.*, 24:265, 273.
42. For a brief biography of Seymour, see Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569–1681* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 491.
43. *Archives of Maryland*, 24:382.
44. Governor Seymour to the Council of Trade and Plantations, August 21, 1706, CSP, 1706–June 1708, vol. 23, #470, 196.
45. Governor Seymour to Council of Trade and Plantations, September 29, 1704, CSP, 1704–1705, vol. 22, #585, 264.
46. A number of Catholic historians have portrayed the penal legislation of 1704 as the work of Governor Seymour. Although Seymour almost certainly would have proposed such measures on his own, it appears that he merely tapped into existing anti-Catholic sentiment for drawing up this legislation. See John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, Colonial Days, 1521–1763* (New York: D. H. McBride & Co., 1886), 1:357–58; Thomas Hughes, S.J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), vol. 2, text, 443–44.
47. William Hunter was correct in arguing that Seymour's charge that he had consecrated a chapel was misinformed. Such an act can only be performed by a bishop.
48. In his correspondence with the Council of Trade and Plantations, Seymour attributed part of the confusion to his decision to summon the two Jesuits before the council, as opposed to taking them to court, for fear that a jury would dismiss the case against the priests on this technicality. Governor Seymour to Council of Trade and Plantations, September 29, 1704, CSP, 1704–1705, vol. 22, #585, 264.
49. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:45; quote, Governor Seymour to Council of Trade and Plantations, September 29, 1704, CSP, 1704–1705, vol. 22, #585, 264.
50. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:45.
51. See Bossy, "English Catholics after 1688," 369–87, and Trevor-Roper, "Toleration and Religion After 1688," 389–408.
52. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:45.
53. Governor Seymour to Council of Trade and Plantations, August 21, 1706, CSP, 1706–June 1708, vol. 23, #470, 196.
54. According to local tradition, the Jesuits dismantled the chapel and moved it brick-by-brick to the plantation they operated outside of St. Mary's City known as St. Inigoe's sometime in 1705. Archaeological investigations at St. Inigoes have confirmed this tradition, although the date could be a little later. For a discussion of these findings, see Dennis J. Pogue and Karlene B. Leeper, "Archaeological Investigations: The 'Old Chapel Field,' St. Inigoes, Maryland," Maryland Historical Trust Manuscript Series, No. 38 (December 1984), 6–7. The Jesuits would use the bricks from this chapel to build a new manor house. To skirt the new penal laws prohibiting the building of public, freestanding chapels, the Jesuits constructed a chapel that was built into the side of the house. The chapel house would characterize the practices of the Catholic community for the remainder of the colonial period.
55. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:181, 184. For the act, see *ibid.*, 340–41.
56. "Remonstrance of the Roman Catholicks of Maryland to the House of Delegates" [copy sent to the Council of Trade and Plantations], December 21, 1705, CSP, 1704–1705, vol. 22, #1530, 736.
57. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:431.
58. Bossy, "English Catholics after 1688," 375; Eamon Duffy, "'Poor protestant flies': Con-

versions to Catholicism in Early Eighteenth Century England," in Derek Baker, ed., *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, Studies in Church History, vol. 15 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 290.

59. *Archives of Maryland*, 27:147.

60. *Ibid.*, 146–47. Queen Anne's decision did not reach the colony until after the initial suspending clause had expired. Anxious not to lose this privilege, the Catholic community submitted a second petition requesting an extension until the Queen's pleasure was known. Despite the council's initial offense at what they termed some expressions that "seeme to challenge than petition for a Toleration & Freedome" the House granted their request by approving another suspension for a period of twelve months. *Archives of Maryland*, 26:544.

61. Trevor-Roper, "Toleration and Religion after 1688," 400.

62. *Ibid.*, 393–94; Bossy, "English Catholics after 1688," 372–73.

THE SUN.

BALTIMORE, THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1860.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Ladies Admitted to the Floor—Death of the Chairman of the Vermont Delegation—Debates in the Convention Limited—The Cincinnati Platform Repudiated in Committee—The Baltimore and Illinois Douglas Delegates Admitted—The Wood Delegates Voted Out—Tribute of Respect to Mr. Robinson, the Deceased Delegate, etc.

CHARLESTON, April 25.—The convention met at 10 o'clock, and there was evidence of increased interest in the proceedings. The gallery was crowded with ladies, and it being filled, on motion, several hundred who were crowding outside, unable to enter the gallery, were admitted to the floor of the convention, occasioning much good feeling.

As the Democratic National Convention got under way in Charleston in April 1860, the Baltimore Sun reported "much good feeling" among the delegates. It was to be short-lived. (Baltimore Sun, April 26, 1860, Maryland Historical Society.)

The Madness of Disunion: The Baltimore Conventions of 1860

CHARLES W. MITCHELL

On Wednesday, April 18, 1860, the steamer *S. R. Spaulding* with approximately eighty passengers bound for Charleston, South Carolina, sailed from Baltimore to the accompaniment of music from Gilmore's band and loud cheers from those on shore. "For the alimentary comfort of those on board," one newspaper reported, "she is supplied with 4,500 pounds of fresh meat and poultry, and has besides 23 tons of ice."¹ She was due to arrive in Charleston, a city of fifty thousand, on Saturday, the twenty-first, in time for the Democratic Party's presidential nominating convention. The *Spaulding's* passengers were Maryland's delegates to what was destined to be the most dramatic political convention in American history. Aboard the steamer were men named Johnson, Gittings, Landham, and Brent. None would take center stage in Charleston, though some would have significant roles.

Four years earlier, a party committee chaired by T. C. McCreary of New York had selected Charleston in the hope that holding the convention in a southern city would promote unity in what were exceedingly divisive times. Incumbent Democratic president James Buchanan, battered by sectional tensions and revelations of massive corruption in his administration, had chosen to retire after one term to the bucolic peace of his Pennsylvania farm. Congress was divided into two camps, northern and southern men, who were sometimes literally at each other's throats. On April 5, Congressmen John F. Potter of Wisconsin and Roger A. Pryor of Virginia almost came to blows on the House floor. Four days later they agreed to a duel—bowie knives were the weapons of choice—but cooler heads prevailed, and no duel took place. "There are no relations, not absolutely indispensable in the conduct of joint business, between the North and South in either House," South Carolina Senator James H. Hammond remarked. "No two nations on earth are or ever were more distinctly separate and hostile than we are here."²

The weather in the weeks preceding the convention had been hot and dry, but Charleston hotels and rooming houses nevertheless anticipated a lucrative week. Visitors discovered the price of a parlor and bedroom suite in a top hotel was approximately seventy-five dollars per day, though a state delegation could pay one hundred dollars per day to stay at St. Andrew's Hall. Breakfast could be

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taken for \$1.00, dinner and supper for \$1.50 each. "The southern delegates were at home; the city was theirs, doors were open, tables were spread, many were spared the discomforts of hotel fare in the lavender-drenched guest rooms of these wide-porched mansions." Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, who with pronounced Republican leanings had come to observe the convention, was almost reluctantly taken with the city. "The most charming spot . . . is the Battery. . . . In the pleasant evenings the people of leisure congregate here; hundreds of carriages and buggies, full of ladies and gentlemen. . . . During the session of the Convention, there has been a band of music from Boston, used principally in serenading great men at a late hour and bringing out speeches."³ The rough behavior common to conventions was, of course, inevitable. The night before the convention opened Halstead complained, "there has been a great deal more drunkenness here today than heretofore. Most of the violent spreeing is done by roughs from the Northern Atlantic cities who are at last making their appearance. There have been a number of specimens of drunken rowdyism and imbecility about the hotels. And I hear, as I write, a company of brawlers in the street making night hideous."⁴

As the convention opened, temperatures were close to one hundred degrees, making the overdressed and not yet acclimated northerners especially uncomfortable. Rain briefly cooled the city as 303 delegates from thirty-two states filed into Institute Hall on Meeting Street for the opening ceremonies at noon on Monday, April 23. During the previous decade, the Whig Party had disintegrated over slavery. Democrats, too, now seemed on the edge of that precipice. In 1859, Senator A. G. Brown of Mississippi had said: "The South will demand at Charleston a platform explicitly declaring that slave property is entitled in the Territories and on the high seas to the same protection that is given to any other and every other species of property and failing to get it she will retire from the Convention."⁵

His words hung ominously over a city in which political men had gathered to address problems that politics no longer could solve. As in any such assemblage there were factions, some extreme, others moderate. Many Democrats realized that their failure to agree on a nominee might well lead to a Republican president, southern secession, and perhaps war. Still, large numbers were optimistic that in the face of "Black Republican" hordes their party would unite behind a candidate. Delegate-laden trains rolling into Charleston from the North were filled with talk about the "Little Giant," Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the former judge who stood barely five feet tall. Though he had sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act⁶ with its consequently divisive doctrine of state sovereignty, Douglas was widely thought to be that man. His greatest strength was among Northwest and New England men, and he commanded support from at least half the delegates at the start of the convention. One correspondent reported that opposition to Douglas was evaporating even as the convention

opened. But Douglas was in poor physical and financial health, and his supporters had underestimated the power and tenacity of his enemies, who doubted that he could muster the two-thirds majority needed for nomination. Imposing forces were indeed converging to stop him. These included President Buchanan, still bitter at Douglas's refusal to support the proslavery Lecompton Constitution in Kansas,⁷ and Mississippi senator and former secretary of war, Jefferson Davis. Another hurdle in Douglas's path was William L. Yancey of Alabama, an extremist in the defense of slavery who had honed his fire-breathing rhetoric during a career in law and seven terms in Congress. "There was nobody quite like Yancey," one historian later commented. Though mild in manner, he had killed his wife's uncle in a fight and fought a bloodless duel with a fellow southerner while in Congress. As a young man he had shown interest in the antislavery spirit, which he now detested. An extremist, "he was for maintaining the Union—if only the rest of the country would accept the extreme Southern position." "It is understood" of Yancey, Halstead reported, "that he has a vast amount of ammunition for a bombardment of the Douglas castle, ready for use when the decks are cleared for action."

Northern eyes were also upon Charleston. A railroad lawyer and Illinois politician who had lost a sensational senatorial race to Douglas in 1858 reflected on the Little Giant's chances. "Opinions here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated, are quite, conflicting—some very confident he *will*, and others that he will *not* be. I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him."⁸ Southern nationalists, with no candidate of their own, were ready to fight Douglas to the bitter end. Moderate southerners, too, held strong reservations about him, especially in the wake of John Brown's failed abolitionist raid at Harper's Ferry.

The future of slavery was, of course, at the heart of the matter, and it lay treacherously in wait as the delegates paraded into Institute Hall. Prominent Republicans such as Lincoln and William Henry Seward had given speeches pledging not to interfere with the constitutional protection accorded slavery *where it existed*, but they were determined to prevent its spread into the territories, where, in their view, it merited no federal protection. Slavery was accepted, if not condoned, by most delegates from the northern states, but for many this visit to the city by the sea afforded their first look at real slaves and real masters. These northern Democrats had heard their southern colleagues praise slavery, its economic benefits, and its virtues as the natural relationship between white people and black. In early February, Mississippi's Jefferson Davis had introduced into the U.S. Senate resolutions designed to insulate slavery from reformers and abolitionists. Two of those resolutions—urging federal protection for slavery in the territories while denying their citizens the right to discourage or abolish the institution—were unacceptable to the Douglas Democrats, as everyone knew.⁹

Douglas had cast himself as the spokesman for the new Northwest, those territories that in the middle of the nineteenth century lay on the frontier, seeking entry into the Union. The Little Giant had effectively straddled the matter of slavery in the territories, and by Charleston his straddle had become a painful stretch. His troubles had begun six years earlier, in 1854, with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and they worsened with a tactical misstep in Charleston when his men agreed to finalize the party's platform before the nomination was made. His forces were headquartered in Hibernian Hall, a two-story Gothic structure two blocks from Institute Hall. Its first floor was devoted to his campaign; the upper floor had several hundred cots for delegates whose exhaustion would presumably let them sleep through the noise and the early Carolina summer.

The Little Giant would learn in Charleston just how badly he had wounded his presidential aspirations while winning his Senate seat against Lincoln in 1858. During that campaign Lincoln had asked him if residents of a U.S. Territory could lawfully exclude slavery prior to joining the Union and writing a state constitution. Douglas, knowing that to answer "no" would alienate Illinois free-soil voters, had answered "yes." That clinched his victory. But the price was steep in his relations with the Southerners—the extremists found him unacceptable, and he made the moderates nervous.

In the month leading up to the convention, several southern state Democratic parties had instructed their delegates to walk out of the national convention if its platform did not include federal protection for slavery in the territories. At least one delegate, from Texas, had informed Douglas of this threat. That Jefferson Davis's proslavery Senate resolutions had been endorsed by the Senate Democratic caucus had increased the tension in Charleston (though Davis, like many southerners, conceded that states had the right to outlaw slavery). Word soon spread that seven southern delegations were ready to leave en masse if the platform lacked the territorial slave code—whose inclusion everyone knew would make Douglas unelectable in November. If Yancey and Alabama walked out, it was said, the other Cotton States—Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas—would follow, and so would some men from North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. There had been little civility on the eve of the convention, and an ugly tone was set the first day, when a Pennsylvania delegate attempting to speak was driven from the floor by cries of "God damn you, sit down!" and "What the hell do you want to talk for?"¹⁰

On the second day, Douglas won a key early round when the committee on organization agreed, by a vote of 197 to 102.5, to allow delegates to vote as individuals if they had not been instructed by their states to vote as a bloc. This had two effects: It freed about twenty-five southern delegates to support Douglas, but it also set off a firestorm among the radical southerners that further stiffened the lines of battle.¹¹

William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama led the opposition to Senator Stephen A. Douglas at Charleston. (Maryland Historical Society.)



Somehow a note of frivolity crept into the air as well. On Wednesday, April 25, "the gallery was crowded with ladies, and it being filled, on motion, several hundred who were crowding outside, unable to enter the gallery, were admitted to the floor of the convention, occasioning much good feeling." Alabama's L. P. Walker informed the ladies that Mr. Cochrane of New York was a bachelor, following which the gentleman indeed "acknowledged his desperate condition and expressed his willingness to enter into the marriage relation." Walker announced that it was apparent that the reason why Cochrane had not married "was because he could not." He then "moved to lay the New York bachelor on the table." The chair "tolerated this nonsense for a time, but at last interposed and summarily shut down upon it." The floor of Institute Hall was packed, for "those who have tickets send them out after they get in, and others come in," complained one delegate. The chairman of the Vermont delegation, it was announced from the floor, died of apoplexy. And the credentials committee, adjudicating contested seats in four states, ruled in favor of the sitting delegates, allowing F. M. Landham and Robert J. Brent, of Maryland's Fourth Congressional District, to retain their seats.¹²

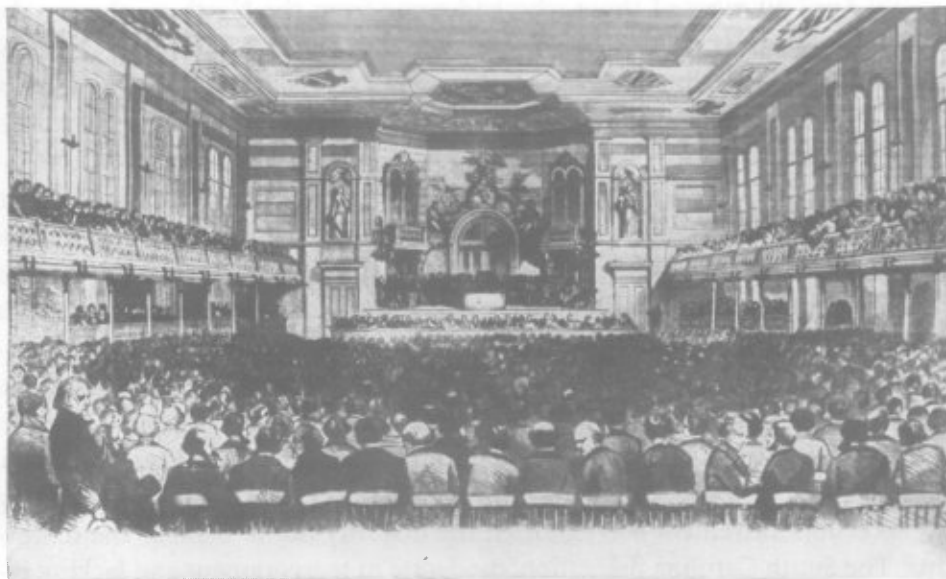
By Friday, the fifth day of the convention, wind and cold rain had dispelled the heat, and Charleston's bars, gamblers, and pickpockets were doing a brisk business. The platform committee presented three reports. The majority report, from the fifteen southern states, Oregon, and California, called for federal protection of slavery on the high seas and in the states and territories, whose citizens could not abolish or interfere with slavery; the acquisition of Cuba; and prompt construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The minority ver-

sion, from the northern states, reiterated the Democratic platform of 1856, known as the Cincinnati platform, and tried to reassure the South by pledging adherence to Supreme Court decisions affecting slavery in the territories. Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts, who in a year would be the most hated man in Maryland, presented his platform of one, which merely reaffirmed Cincinnati.¹³ Southerners found the minority report unacceptable. Yancey delivered a podium-pounding speech for the majority report that made clear the southern unwillingness to yield:

What right of yours, gentlemen of the North, have we of the South ever invaded? . . . Ours are the institutions which are at stake; ours is the property that is to be destroyed; ours is the honor at stake—the honor of children, the honor of families, the lives . . . we yield no position here until we are convinced we are wrong.¹⁴

That evening George E. Pugh of Ohio gave the northern response, angrily rejecting Yancey's demand that northern Democrats accept slavery and its extension into the territories. "Gentlemen of the South," he thundered, "you mistake us—you mistake us—we will not do it!" After a recess, Pugh took the floor again for two more hours. He warned the southern men that their demands for protection of human property in the territories had no constitutional foundation, and that if such was their reason for remaining in the party, they must go. "In an instant the house was in an uproar—a hundred delegates upon the floor, and upon chairs, screaming like panthers, and gesticulating like monkeys. The President, for the first time, completely lost control over the Convention; not a word was audible. The reporters climbed upon their tables, the delegates mounted the chairs, the people in the galleries stretched their necks and hung over the balustrade." At last, by a small majority, the convention voted to adjourn.¹⁵ Here was the first moment of crisis in Charleston, and how these men resolved it would go far toward determining the outcome of the presidential election and the Union's chance of remaining whole.

From Washington Douglas telegraphed his friends to support the Cincinnati platform and uphold the Dred Scott¹⁶ decision but no more—they were not to give ground on the issue of popular sovereignty in the territories, whose citizens must be left free to choose or reject slavery. His managers hoped to lose no more than thirty to forty delegates, leaving sufficient numbers to ensure their man's nomination, though the game could just as easily go the other way—a larger desertion would make it impossible. New York navy agent George Sanders sent President Buchanan a lengthy telegram that included the entire revised minority report and urged the president to make a complete shift and support the Little Giant. Buchanan's response was "an angry outburst when he learned that the message had been sent collect, and that he had paid \$26.50 for its wisdom." On



The 1860 Democratic National Convention in Charleston, South Carolina. (From Harper's Weekly, April 28, 1860.)

Sunday, amid continuing cold rain and wind, the Ohio and Kentucky delegations discovered that their private whiskey stocks, to which they attributed their good health, had run dry.¹⁷

On Monday, April 30, with Douglas's chances more perilous than ever, Baltimoreans read about Sunday's developments in Charleston: "There have been three fights within 24 hours. Two of the Ohio delegates threw plates at each other at the Mills House, and one drew a pistol while the other clinched. Col. Craig, of Missouri, and a newspaper reporter also had a rough and tumble fight at the Mills House, and Captain Levy and Mr. White have also had a fight in a bar-room." One Pennsylvania delegate attacked another over his refusal to sign a document—later found to be fraudulent—instructing the Pennsylvania delegates how to vote. Chaos on the floor of the convention floor rivaled that of the streets and taverns and eventually embroiled the Maryland delegation. As various points of order were being discussed amid deafening noise, William S. Gittings attempted to address the chair but was called to order. Someone shouted, "Mr. President, it is a mistake—I didn't second that man's motion down there." Gittings demanded to know "who it was who spoke so disrespectfully of him." A delegate identifying himself as Tom Hooper rose and denied saying anything disrespectful, to which Gittings replied that since no insult was intended, "the gentleman will call at my room and take a drink."¹⁸ The president of the convention threatened to leave the chair if the uproar, which "would have drowned the thunder of a twenty-four pounder," did not cease.

By April 30 most of those who had come from the North to observe the proceedings had left, their rooming contracts and patience at an end. Their departure left hotel hallways navigable, barrooms accessible, and—more important—the Institute Hall gallery full of Charlestonians, whose applause for southern, anti-Douglas oratory was deafening. That same day the Douglas forces managed to ram their minority platform through the convention by the slim margin of 165 to 138, displacing the majority report.¹⁹ Then, to cheers from much of Charleston's high society, "fifty delegates from the lower South thereupon walked out."²⁰ On the floor, Robert Brent of Maryland warned the southerners that their extreme views would lead to a Black Republican president opposed to slavery—presumably Governor Seward of New York—and a Congress of similar views. Finding himself ruled out of order, Brent accused the chair of treating him so because he was from a slave state. That evening, at a rally of Douglas supporters, Brent accused men with personal feelings against the Little Giant of encouraging the secession movement and exhorted the majority not to bend to the minority.²¹ The South Carolina delegation, moderate in temperament and lacking instructions to withdraw, now did so in the face of boisterous encouragement from Charlestonian spectators.

Douglas's captains had entertained few illusions that their man—or any other, for that matter—would be nominated without the backing of the whole party, despite the rule allowing delegates to vote individually if not otherwise instructed by their states. Chairman Caleb Cushing then handed down a ruling on balloting that dashed Douglas's remaining hopes: to be nominated a candidate must receive two-thirds of the ballots of the total number of delegates accredited to the convention. Two-thirds of the ballots cast by delegates physically in the hall would not do, thanks to a rule enacted at the 1844 convention in Baltimore.²² Douglas would still need 202 votes.

Ardent southern advocates of states' rights—in 1860 this meant several things but primarily that slaves were property, legitimized by the Constitution—were willing to meet the issue head-on should the Republicans win in November and honor their pledge to prevent the spread of slavery. If that occurred secession, they reasoned, would be the most palatable course. The time to settle on the 1856 Cincinnati platform and ignore the issue of federal protection of slavery in the territories had passed, for "Southern passions had been too deeply aroused." Men whose feelings were less passionate "did not see their way clearly but . . . bent before pressure, or simply followed the crowd for lack of any real guiding star. It may have been very hard . . . to see that a bitter-end fight on the slavery issue in this convention would be one ounce more than party or nation could carry without breaking."²³

A smiling Yancey—who early in the Confederacy would be sent to Europe as its emissary, leaving more moderate men to run the affairs of the South—ad-

dressed the renegade southern delegates and others in front of the courthouse late in the evening on that second Monday. "A great crowd . . . wildly cheered an independent Southern republic. The city was mad with a passion not felt since Nullification days." Yancey called his colleagues to gather in a "Constitutional Democratic Convention" and field a candidate for the presidency. The next day the southern Democrats organized themselves at Military Hall, then moved to the Charleston Theater for business, where Yancey referred contemptuously to the larger group of Democrats over in Institute Hall as the "rump" convention.²⁴ They chose a patrician, Senator James A. Bayard of Delaware, as chairman and adopted the majority platform they had championed at Institute Hall. The seceders would support any man chosen other than Douglas, and if Douglas were chosen, they would nominate their own candidate.²⁵ Their course settled, they sat back at the South Carolina House to watch their northern brethren closely. Confident of their power in the party, they waited for the peace overture from Institute Hall they were certain would come.

Political men in the North were on tenterhooks, too: "This writing being early in the morning, Douglas is not yet nominated," Lincoln wrote to a political friend. "But we suppose he certainly will be before sun-set to-day, a few of the smaller Southern states having seceded from the Convention—just enough to permit his nomination, and not enough to hurt him much at the election. This puts the case in the hardest shape for us." Later the same day he wrote again: "We now understand that Douglas will be nominated to-day by what is left of the Charleston convention. All parties here dislike it. Republicans and Danites that he should be nominated at all; and Doug. Dem's that he should not be nominated by an undivided convention."²⁶

Douglas was placed into nomination on May 1. When King of Missouri called his name, "a feeble yelp went up from the Northwestern delegations. It was not hearty and strong, but thin and spiritless. There was no hopefulness in it, but something of defiance. It was as much as to say, 'Well, if we can't nominate him, you cannot nominate anybody else.'" The balloting began. The Maryland delegation left the floor briefly for consultations, but the minutes of their deliberations are lost to history. Votes were spread among four men, with Douglas in the lead, though there was little optimism that he could attract the 202 votes that would represent the prized two-thirds.²⁷ The inability of the convention to focus on another candidate—even knowing that the southerners would likely accept anyone but Douglas—was ominous. The Douglas men were despondent, and Halstead wrote that northern and southern Democrats had resigned themselves to Republican New York Governor Seward's becoming the next president.

The Boston Brass Band opened business on May 2 with "a dozen spirited airs." The *Baltimore Sun* reported that "the state of things in Charleston seems to impart some interest to the so-called Union convention to be held at Baltimore

on the 19th instant." Maryland's Gittings said after the thirty-fifth ballot he would move that the convention reassemble in Baltimore in June. The delegates were less than enthusiastic, and "Mr. G. assured the convention that Baltimore was no longer a Plug Ugly town and promised the delegates a hospitable welcome." Gittings finally withdrew his motion "though with the promise that it would be renewed." A Tennessee delegate offered Philadelphia in lieu of Baltimore, but he was also denied. After the fifty-fourth ballot, Gittings suggested the gentlemen "face the music" because nominating a candidate now was "inexpedient." This time the chair ruled him out of order. The fifty-seventh ballot was the last, and again Gittings offered his motion to adjourn to Baltimore on June 1, only to find it rejected a third time. Douglas, meanwhile, had 152.5 votes, far short of the two-thirds required for nomination.²⁸

By the morning of Wednesday, May 3, it was plain that the convention was hopelessly deadlocked. Fewer spectators took to the galleries, which subsequently were less noisy. "The ladies' gallery is very thin, and the poor creatures look down into the hall, vainly seeking objects of interest." Douglas men said they hated the party and hoped that any Democratic nominee other than Douglas might lose. The more despondent were heard wishing to join the Republicans. They were put out of their misery by the irrepressible Gittings, whose motion finally carried following abortive attempts to insert Philadelphia and New York as the new convention site.²⁹ The delegates adjourned, to try again in Baltimore at noon on June 18. Only seven ladies remained in the ladies' gallery. Steamers bound for New York and Philadelphia and the night train north were filled to overflowing, and the discomfort for those headed to Washington was far from over—they faced six changes of cars along the way.

The seceders were stunned. They had moved to Military Hall and taken to calling themselves "retiring delegates," expecting at any moment to rejoin their colleagues following the nomination of a compromise candidate.³⁰ Few had sought or expected a permanent break, but now their bluff had been called, their convention blown apart. This vocal southern minority had refused to see any difference on slavery between Douglas and a Republican. No one, it seemed, was satisfied, except the gamblers and pickpockets who had feasted on delegates for nine days. The southern firebrands agreed to meet in Richmond on June 11 and adjourned, their journeys home also made uneasy by fearsome uncertainties.

Ghosts of Sheets and Pumpkin

As Democrats reorganized back in their home states and Republicans prepared for their second national nominating convention, the Constitutional Union Party opened its first convention in Baltimore at noon on May 9, 1860. The day before the city marked the occasion with a parade that packed the streets and

showed off its new steam fire engines. The assembly gathered in a federal courthouse that was formerly the First Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Fayette and North Streets. The old church had an illustrious political history—Andrew Jackson had been nominated there in 1828 and Martin Van Buren in 1836. The building had galleries on three sides and “gas fixtures . . . in the event that the convention may sit at night.” In attendance were approximately seven hundred aged and well-connected gentlemen who didn’t like the way things looked. Murat Halstead observed that many “are of the ‘eminently respectable’ class of gentlemen—and most of them are somewhat stale in politics. . . . The delegates seemed to be in high spirits, and to be confident of their ability to make at least a powerful diversion. The general foolishness of the two great parties has given the third unusual animation.”³¹ Many of these gentlemen were from the border states. Distressed by the escalating rhetoric pushing the nation toward division and war, they had first met late in 1859 in search of a middle ground and thought they had found it in the proposition that North and South could remain together if they somehow could remove slavery as a national issue.

The effort was led by the venerable Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky,³² who had invited fifty senators and congressmen unaffiliated with Republicans or Democrats to fuse with the remnants of the Whig and American parties. This new political party would put forth a platform featuring “the Union and the Constitution” and opposition to the Democrats.³³ Founding principles were “the removal of the slavery question from party politics, development of national resources, maintenance of honorable peace with all nations, strict enforcement of the laws and the powers of the Constitution, and respect for state rights and reverence for the Union.”³⁴ All states had been invited to send delegates to a national convention in Baltimore. Twenty-two had accepted, emboldened by the Democratic fissure in Charleston and the prospect that the Republicans might also split in Chicago over Seward. Some questioned the relevance of this party in a time when people were moving to extremes of the political spectrum—the *New York Herald* described the convention as a “Great Gathering of Fossil Know Nothings and Southern Americans”—but these men were determined to save the Union and believed they were on a path to do just that.³⁵

The Constitutional Union party had first stirred in Maryland in 1857, a state with strong support for the American or Know-Nothing Party. Three years later former state Know-Nothing leaders and ex-Whigs cast their support to John Bell of Tennessee, who had been sympathetic to the Know-Nothings. Local Know-Nothing organizations easily transferred their allegiance to the Constitutional Union party. Casting themselves as the only viable alternative to the Democrats, Southern Know-Nothings invited all opposed to the Democrats to join them in a new conservative party, dedicated to “Union and Constitution.” On April 19, the Maryland convention of the Constitutional Unionist Party at Carroll Hall



U.S. Senator from Maryland Anthony Kennedy served as a member of the Constitutional Union Party's Executive Union Committee. (Maryland Historical Society.)

elected two delegations of former Know-Nothings as Maryland's delegates to the national convention. The two groups, one of which included Baltimore Mayor Thomas Swann, fought over who would represent the city.³⁶

Senator Crittenden, the guest of John Pendleton Kennedy while in Baltimore, opened the convention at noon on May 9. He "was received with applause from the galleries, and the ladies, who occupied the west gallery, waved their handkerchiefs."³⁷ Former New York Governor Washington Hunt was chosen as temporary chairman. Halstead found the opening events tedious, though perhaps only in comparison to the raucous experience two weeks earlier in Charleston:

The Convention insisted on applauding nearly every sentence, and several times refused to let [Mr. Hunt] finish a sentence. It was worse than the applause given by an Irish audience at an archbishop's lecture . . . during the first hour and a half of the session, I presume at least one hundred rounds of applause were given, and the more the "spreads" applauded, the greater became their zeal. . . . I have stated . . . that the Douglas men were the most noisy fellows in the world. . . . I take it back. The "Plugs" can beat them at their own game . . . every speech was received in this "tremendous" style. The moment a speaker would say Constitution . . . Union, American . . . or anything of the sort, he had to pause for some time until the general rapture would discharge itself by stamping, clapping hands, rattling canes, etc. . . . and if he should . . . commence the broken sentence over again, ten to one, when he arrived at the patriotic

point where the fracture commenced, the storm would break out again with redoubled fury.³⁸

Early signs pointed to a ticket with Sam Houston of Texas and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. A resolution passed specifying the manner of voting, though its requirements presented difficulties for the Maryland delegation, which "being unable to get proper construction of the . . . resolution through its head without a surgical operation, retired for consultation, and to have the necessary operation performed." On the first ballot, Bell took 68.5 votes to 57 for Houston, and on the second ballot the prize was his, by a count of 125 votes to 68 for Houston, who had been the choice of southern Know Nothings and Baltimore ladies, who from the galleries showered the platform with bouquets.³⁹ Bell was a safe choice for cautious men. A wealthy Tennessee lawyer and owner of eighty slaves, he had had an impressive career: state legislator, congressman, Speaker of the House, secretary of war, and senator. His vice presidential mate, the distinguished Everett, did not wish the honor (Everett would give a magisterial oration three years later honoring the fallen at Gettysburg, though it would be eclipsed in history by Lincoln's 272 words). Maryland gave 7.5 votes to Bell and half a vote to Houston on both ballots.⁴⁰ Only one utterance of slavery at the convention violated the proscription against public statements on that subject—when F. W. Grayson of Pennsylvania declared that Republicans and Democrats differed on the matter only as to how it must be legislated in the territories, by Congress or the territories themselves. His pronouncement was loudly hissed. Republicans, in full campaign form following Lincoln's May nomination in Chicago, derided the Constitutional Unionists as "Bell Ringers" and "Do Nothings," despite the pleas of Henry Winter Davis for a cooperative arrangement between Bell and Lincoln in which one would have no ticket in states where the other was strong (and would have meant no Lincoln ticket in Maryland).⁴¹

This amiable gathering of Constitutional Unionists held none of the sectional bitterness that had destroyed the Whigs and now threatened the Democrats. Baltimore lawyer Brantz Mayer proclaimed slavery a false issue, men's disagreements over it "as harmless and hollow as ghosts manufactured out of sheets and pumpkin."⁴² Those enamored of this Constitutional-Unionist middle ground hoped the new party would attract enough votes to deprive the major parties of outright victory by sending the election to the House of Representatives. Though the logic of Constitutional Unionism was hard to fault, its fundamental principle—glorifying Constitution and Union and enforcing its laws—was hardly the engine to ignite public interest in the politics of the time. Its proponents did not see that their thinking was soft and hollow, and that in 1860 men were aroused by the more passionate appeals of other parties.

The Madness of Disunion

On June 15 and 16, 1860, between six and eight thousand people—delegates, press, and hangers-on, more than had been in Charleston—poured into Baltimore for the next round of the Democratic convention. Several state delegations brought their own bands. “During Saturday Barnum’s Hotel, the Eutaw House, and the other hotels, received their delegations and guests . . . and in the afternoon the rotundas, halls and parlors, presented a scene seldom witnessed, blocked as they were with baggage, and filled with the strangers in their linen dusters, too busy aiding to swell the political hubbub and hum of voices, to change their travelling apparel.” The *Baltimore Sun* had been sanguine from the start about the chances of success:

although the adjournment has been made to a city in which popular sentiment is as staunch in support of the South as in any of her sister cities, yet it must be admitted that the convention having been originally organized at Charleston, that should have been the place for the reassembling of it . . . the Convention would do honor to itself and justice to the party, by uniting upon some worthy, unobtrusive, honest and substantial man, who . . . will be acceptable to the South and command the confidence of the North. Such a nomination would tend in an immeasurable degree to heal the dissensions which now disturb the Union.⁴³

The writer predicted that, should the Democrats fail to settle on a nominee, there would be two Democratic candidates, splitting the vote and forcing the election of the Republican Lincoln. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* engaged “two of the most accurate and expert Phonographers of Washington city, with a full corps of assistants, to furnish us with a *verbatim* report of the proceedings,” and in the same edition offered an analysis of Democratic difficulties and an endorsement of the Constitutional Union Party:

It is not possible to gratify or satisfy both extremes of the Party, because they separate upon issues that are irreconcilable. . . . no amount of ingenuity, human or angelic, can reconcile Popular Sovereignty with the views of Southern delegates, or can construct a platform that will sustain both sections at once. . . . the Seceders at Richmond . . . do not hesitate to call the darling doctrine of Popular Sovereignty “a snake that is to be strangled.”

Having previously endorsed Everett, the paper went on to urge the election of the Constitutional Union ticket: “We will fight on their side . . . and engage to confine Mr. Lincoln to his original occupation of mauling rails.”⁴⁴



Barnum's City Hotel quickly filled with delegates and the press on June 15, 1860, as the Democratic convention prepared to reconvene at Baltimore's Front Street Theater. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Lt. Col. Robert Edward Lee, acting commander of the Department of Texas, United States Army, wrote to a friend: "the papers will give you news of the Baltimore convention. If Judge Douglas would now withdraw and join himself and party to aid in the election of Breckinridge, he might retrieve himself before the country and Lincoln be defeated. Politicians I fear are too selfish to become martyrs." Baltimore City delegates resolved in a meeting on June 14 at Rechabite Hall that, while they would support the eventual nominee, they would express a strong preference for Douglas.⁴⁵

On Sunday evening, June 17, bands attached to various delegations drew several thousand excited spectators to Monument Square for what one newspaper called "airs in the square." While the early demeanor of the crowd seemed to

favor the Little Giant, anti-Douglas sentiment began to surface, judging from the reactions to speeches by assorted dignitaries that lasted until almost midnight. In the end, there was little reason to hope that what had failed in Charleston would succeed in Baltimore. It was rumored that many southern delegates were ready for a reprise over the slave code, and that northern men were ready to fight and drive their southern brothers out of the party. Senator Judah Benjamin of Louisiana was mistaken, thundered Ohio's George Pugh, "if he supposes that the men who stood there at Charleston for two weeks in that atmosphere voting down your resolutions again and again, and voting for Stephen A. Douglas, are going to be tired when it comes to Baltimore, which is a much more agreeable atmosphere for them." The more extreme southerners, having met in Richmond the week before, had decided not to act until the larger convention reconvened in Baltimore. They were poised for further disruption. Their delegations, excepting Florida, had been instructed by their state party organizations to reclaim the seats they had vacated in Charleston, and most of them were in Baltimore for that purpose. The other southern states, with the exception of South Carolina, had chosen new delegates in new elections, and a bitter fight over the legitimate heirs to those seats would be the first order of business.⁴⁶

On the Monday morning of June 18, 303 delegates and almost two hundred editors and reporters (despite allotted space for only one hundred newspapermen) filed into the Front Street Theater at 10 A.M. to open the convention. Unlike those at Charleston, the Baltimore galleries were with Douglas all the way. Thorough preparation had preceded the visitors to the theater, which featured "a rich and beautiful scenery to relieve the heaviness of the unplastered walls." The theater's dress circle had been designated as the gallery for the ladies, who were to be admitted free. Reports circulated that free tickets distributed at Barnum's Hotel by the chairman, Caleb Cushing, were being scalped for between two and five dollars. The delegates got down to business with a speech from Cushing reminding them that they were in Baltimore to decide the fate of the seats of Democrats who had bolted in Charleston, and, following that, to finalize a platform and choose a presidential nominee. At the outset tensions seemed to abate, as "the prospect of a solution of the difficulties . . . appeared last evening to be a shade better. The prominent men of both sides were more inclined to talk calmly over the prospects of the party, and while the firmness of neither section appeared to be in the least shaken, there seemed to be a more lively appreciation of the madness of disunion on the question of candidates."⁴⁷

The credentials committee began sorting out the contested seats in the southern delegations. At first the Douglas men were willing to embrace all Charleston prodigal sons except those from Alabama and Louisiana, whose new delegates they insisted be seated, as retribution for the behavior of Yancey and Slidell.⁴⁸ Other pressing matters arose. Mr. Salisbury of Delaware addressed the chair on

the matter of tickets, the supply of which had apparently been infected by counterfeits, causing new ones to be issued. "Some of my delegation are outside and cannot get into the hall—that they wish tickets; cannot get tickets, and do not know who issues tickets to this Convention. I would like the chair to indicate by what authority tickets are issued, and how delegates will gain admission to the floor of this Convention." After being informed that tickets had been sent to the chairman of each delegation, Salisbury was asked to render himself more understandable, because "he is now speaking from the stage of a theatre, and it is important that he should face those in the rear, and address them, and not the chair, if he desired to be heard." Salisbury replied, "I wish to say to the gentleman . . . that I am not a theatre man. I never attended a theatre ten times in my life." Came the reply: "Well, you are making your *debut* then, and we want to hear what you say!"⁴⁹

Six hours of speeches exhorted the delegates either to restore the seceders to their seats or reject their attempts to return. The president complained about the noise level from the gallery, and Frederick delegate Bradley Johnson objected to the behavior of the spectators: "As a delegate from Maryland I ask that representatives of this State may be cleared from the imputation cast upon them by the disorder in the gallery. Those joining in the disorder there are not the people of Baltimore. I ask of the Chair that the galleries may be cleared." The convention loudly shouted him down. Three more hours of oratory greeted those on Monument Square that evening, as Douglas and Yancey supporters labored to out-speak and outshout one another.⁵⁰ The following day heavy thunderstorms greeted the adjourning delegates, dampening evening speeches and prompting brisk sales of pro- and anti-Douglas umbrellas. On the third day, June 20, some complained that the police were preventing delegates from entering the theater.

The political climate seemed favorable enough to Douglas. Signs of support for him in the Deep South emerged. The editor of the Aberdeen, Mississippi, *Conservative* had written to Douglas two months before Baltimore:

It is a source of much regret to your numerous friends in this section of Mississippi, that the state will be represented in the Charleston convention by gentlemen who, it is honestly believed, do not entertain the political sentiments of the majority of her people. The delegates from this portion of the state . . . are men who reflect the sentiments of that faction in this State known as "*fire-eaters*" of the most rabid description—advocating a re-opening of the African Slave Trade, and a protective code for the Territories. . . . It will be urged in that body by the delegates from this State that you will not receive the support of the State or of Alabama in November, but . . . I pledge you the electoral vote of Mississippi at the ballot box. I write this letter as the representative of that large and respectable

class of gentlemen in this locality known as "Douglasites" by their enemies, but who are certainly in the majority, though they will have no voice in the Convention. Mississippi will vote for *Douglas* in the event of his nomination, and I shall repeat it . . . at Charleston next week, to those delegates from this State who in opposing your nomination, do not reflect the will of the majority in this State.⁵¹

A schoolteacher-lawyer had written him shortly after Charleston:

Perhaps you would like to hear a few words from a political friend residing in the land of the seceders. . . . The breakup of the Charleston convention produced no excitement among the masses of the people. There was much regret that you were not nominated. It is confessed on all sides that you are the only democrat North or South that can beat the Black Republicans. If the people could express their sentiments the seceders would not be sustained and others would be sent to Baltimore in favor of your nomination. . . . It is a common assertion here that you could carry this State over Jeff Davis' head by from five to ten thousand majority.⁵²

There was plenty of excitement away from the theater floor. Prominent Baltimorean Reverdy Johnson, the former U.S. senator and attorney general who had worked very hard for the Little Giant in Charleston, hosted Douglas's supporters at his house on Monument Square, which provided a platform for evening speeches throughout the week. Just across the square, at Gilmor House, was the southern headquarters. Rival speakers, bands, and crowds thronged the square, which "packed fuel beneath the already boiling cauldron."⁵³ On the evening of June 19, the Douglas men fired rockets from the windows.

Rule or Ruin

As the week wore on, the nighttime noise from the large crowds outside Douglas headquarters was exceeded only by that emanating from the southern headquarters across the square.⁵⁴ Tempers rose with the temperature of early summer, and fisticuffs erupted on the convention floor between two men from the rival Arkansas delegations. One slapped his insulter and drew a pistol from his pantaloons, "and a duel only avoided after a series of notes were exchanged according to the custom of the times." A more serious incident occurred when two rival Delaware delegates fought and, at five o'clock the following morning, Congressman Whitely of Delaware attacked Joshua Townsend of Ohio in the hall of their hotel, the Maltby House, as the latter sleepily made his way to the washroom.⁵⁵

This was the first national political convention with telegraph wire in place for instant reporting, and rumors flew across the nation. One held that only

some seceders would be invited back, which most knew would bring on another walkout. Another claimed that Douglas was poised to withdraw.⁵⁶ Early on June 21, the fourth day, as the committees were beginning their reports, "a tremendous crash was heard in the centre of the building, occupied by the New York and Pennsylvania delegations. Delegates rushed in masses to the windows, and climbed, nimbly as monkeys, over the chairs of the reporters seeking . . . to place themselves under the protection of the president."⁵⁷ A section of floor had collapsed, and though no one was injured and damage was not extensive, it was a harbinger of bad tidings. A recess was called so the floor could be repaired, and despite the inevitable jokes about the party's weak platform, few dared see symbolism in the reconstruction.

The credentials committee presented three reports. The majority, a carefully crafted compromise, "called for the seating of new delegations from Alabama and Louisiana, for the admission of both the old and new delegations from Arkansas and Georgia with the dividing of the vote between them, and for the re-admission of the bolting delegations from Texas, Mississippi, and Delaware whose seats were not contested." Two minority reports were defeated. One invited all the bolters to return, and a second, from Gittings of Maryland, concurred with the majority report but required that Yancey's Alabama delegation be accepted, too, though Gittings withdrew it the next morning, expressing as he did so his infatuation with Yancey. The seceders still loudly insisted on the slave-code platform denied them in Charleston, their credo in Baltimore being "rule or ruin," wrote Georgia's Alexander Stephens. They hoped delegates from the upper South would join them, and if denied their threat was bolder still—they would bolt for good and form a new party.⁵⁸

Attitudes were plainly hardening, and the mood soon grew ugly. During an argument over tickets on the fourth day, William Montgomery made a disparaging remark about his colleague and fellow Pennsylvanian, Josiah Randall; following the day's adjournment, Randall's son assaulted Montgomery, and only fast action by the crowd averted a more serious incident. On Monument Square that night, bands drowned out opposing orators. The pro-Douglas Keystone Club band of Philadelphia marched through the center of the square into a hostile rally "throwing rockets and bombs to open their way" and were promptly attacked by an anti-Douglas mob in front of the Gilmore House. "A surging wave of humanity swept upon the band, knocking their instruments right and left, and blows were struck promiscuously." The police were of little help until the Pennsylvanians retired. The anti-Douglas rally "continued to a late hour."⁵⁹

The next day came the tragedy everyone had come to expect and most to fear. On Friday, June 22, the Douglas majority report passed by 150 to 100.5. During the evening session, Charles W. Russell of Virginia spurned the compromise offered by the Douglas men to seat only some of the southern delegates and



Reverdy Johnson hosted determined supporters of Stephen A. Douglas at his house on Monument Square in Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

announced his state's withdrawal from the theater on Front Street. Ignoring pleas from the party chairman about the perils of a split, the Virginians "rose in a body, and passing into the aisles, proceeded to leave the theatre, shaking hands and bidding personal friends good-by, as they retired." Next went most delegates from the Upper South and a few proslavery men from the North.⁶⁰ Speeches predicting dire consequences were issued amid great disorder that reflected the gravity of the moment. One hundred and five men walked out, more than a third of the total, and they included all the delegates from the Deep South, North Carolina, California, Oregon, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas. Nineteen of twenty-four from Tennessee and twenty-five of thirty from Virginia left, as did half of the Marylanders after Bradley Johnson proclaimed that some delegates had authorized him to announce their withdrawal in order that they might cast their lot with the South. Saturday brought more bad news. Caleb Cushing and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation withdrew. Spokesman Benjamin Butler—with his prizefighter bodyguard from Boston behind him—broke the news. "We put our withdrawal before you, upon the simple ground, . . . that there has been a withdrawal, in part, of a majority of the States; and further (and that, perhaps, more personal to myself) upon the ground that I will not sit in a convention where the African slave-trade—which is piracy by the laws of my country—is approvingly advocated."⁶¹ Butler's view was not uncommon in the North. The nation's founders had allowed slave importation to be banned beginning in 1808, and Congress had kept the trade out of the Northwest Territories. Men like Butler held the view that the founders had so acted precisely because they found the whole business immoral and wished to prevent its spread. Many believed

Our readers will have observed that we have demanded the nomination of Judge Douglas as due, not only to him, but to the integrity of the democratic party, and also that we have said that no other man named would receive our support—not because we regard ourselves as bound to the fortunes of Mr. Douglas, but only because his overthrow would dissolve all obligations of honest men to the democratic party, when that overthrow was to be effected as a punishment for a fearless performance of duty. While, however, we shall support the election of Stephen A. Douglas, The Press will in no respect be a party newspaper.

On June 26, 1860, the Baltimore Sun cautiously endorsed Stephen A. Douglas's nomination for the presidency. (Maryland Historical Society.)

that, whatever its constitutional and legal protections, slavery would wither away if righteous men would fight its expansion into free states and territories.⁶²

The dwindling number of delegates accredited to the original meeting chose Ohio Governor David Tod as chairman of the convention's remnants. Tod immediately recognized the call to vote before more delegates left. This he did in "the din of an indescribable confusion. There were partial responses from some . . . which could hardly be heard, and the Convention seemed rapidly becoming a roaring mob." Gittings asked if the two-thirds rule was in effect. The question became moot before he got an answer, for on the second ballot Douglas received 181.5 votes, with eighteen going to various others. At last the Little Giant had the prize in his grasp, and the vote was then made unanimous for him.

All decorum evaporated in the commotion that greeted the nomination. An unusual statement came from the chair: "Gentlemen, you all know that the Chair feels so much disposition to join in these yells that *he* can't keep order." The convention recessed until evening to choose the party's nominee for vice president, an honor awarded to the delegates from the South who had remained with the party. They chose Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama on the first ballot, though later he would decline in favor of Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, himself chosen by the Democratic National Committee. Thomas M. Lanahan of Baltimore was chosen for the National Executive Committee.⁶³ On Saturday, June 22, the convention adjourned *sine die* at 9:45 P.M.

The nine (of sixteen) bolting Maryland delegates had walked from the Front Street Theater to Maryland Institute Hall to join their anti-Douglas brethren, who called themselves the National Democratic Convention. Institute Hall accommo-

dated eight thousand people, and its galleries were full as the seceders' convention opened at noon on Saturday, June 23. Marylanders E. S. F. Hardcastle and William P. Bowie were chosen as temporary secretary and vice president, respectively. Tremendous applause greeted the arrival of Caleb Cushing to assume his seat as convention chair. William Yancey "glowed with satisfaction. . . . Garnett, of Virginia, whose countenance is usually grave as Don Quixote's, seemed pleased as a schoolboy with new boots." One delegate thanked the Almighty for now being able to speak without being hissed and not having to listen to nauseating speeches.⁶⁴ Former Kentucky senator and current vice president John Breckinridge was quickly nominated on one ballot for president, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for vice president.⁶⁵ Maryland delegates in their excitement offered to pay the expenses of the entire convention. The convention adopted the majority platform from Charleston—supported by the fifteen slave states, Oregon, and California—which protected slavery in the territories. The whole affair, dull in its unanimity and its contrast with the northern meeting, was over in a day. Yancey addressed his fellow renegades at length about Alabama's position. Two weeks later, in Illinois, the Republican candidate wrote to a friend:

The signs now are that Douglas and Breckinridge will each have a ticket in every state. They are driven to this to keep their bombastic claims of *nationality*, and to avoid the charge of *sectionalism* which they have so much lavished upon us. . . . It is an amusing fact, after all Douglas has said about *nationality*, and *sectionalism*, that I had more votes from the Southern section at Chicago, than he had at Baltimore! In fact, there was more of the Southern section represented at Chicago, than in the Douglas rump concern at Baltimore!⁶⁶

John Contee, a Maryland delegate from Buena Vista, published a letter to Marylanders on June 25 in which he explained that he had tried faithfully to honor his obligation to them as a delegate, and that Cushing's departure for the seceders' convention legitimized that gathering as the true National Democratic Convention. He urged his fellow citizens to support Breckinridge and Lane.⁶⁷ On June 26 the *Baltimore Sun* announced its support for Douglas as the legitimate nominee of the Democratic party. The fire-eaters had fallen on their swords, and whether their wounds were fatal would not be known for certain until November.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 19, 1860. The *American* spelled the name "Gilmor."
2. William B. Hesseltine: "Pryor-Potter Duel," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 27 (1943-44):

400–409; Senator James H. Hammond to Major Hammond, April 22, 1860, quoted in Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1948). Potter also once knocked the wig off Mississippi Congressman William Barksdale.

3. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860 (room prices.) Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 291; William B. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1960), 40–41.

4. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 18; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860.

5. Percy Lee Rainwater: *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1938), 109. South Carolina Institute Hall could hold approximately 3,000 people. It later became known as Secession Hall because the state's Ordinance of Secession was signed there on December 20.

6. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed residents of those territories to choose whether they would be free or slave. It became a rallying cry for the doctrine of popular sovereignty, whose chief proponent was Douglas. The Act overrode the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in either territory.

7. The Lecompton (Kansas) constitution, which allowed slavery in the Kansas territory, was drafted by a rump convention with no legitimate claim to represent its residents. Buchanan's man in Charleston was Senator John Slidell of Louisiana, assisted by Senators James A. Bayard of Delaware and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, and New York navy agent (and former American consul in London) George N. Sanders.

8. Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961), 2; Allan Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, Vol. II, *Prologue to Civil War, 1859–1861* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 216; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 24; Abraham Lincoln to Hawkins Taylor, April 21, 1860, quoted in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:45. Emphases Lincoln's.

9. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue*, 179.

10. *Ibid.*, 207n; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860; Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 295; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 23.

11. Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 296–97. The Maryland delegates supported this measure, with 4.5 votes for Douglas and 3.5 votes against him. See also, Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 25, 29–31. *Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, convened at Charleston, S.C., April 23, 1860* (Washington: Thomas McGill, Printer, 1860), 9, gives the roll call of states, though an arithmetic error in the tally shows 103.5 votes for Douglas.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 33–34, 37, 39; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1860. William D. Bowie was chosen Vice President and Levin Wolford Secretary of the Maryland delegation. The death of John S. Robinson, the Vermont delegate, is reported in *Proceedings*, 14. Seats were contested in Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois and New York. See *Proceedings*, 12.

13. The Cincinnati platform—named for the site of the 1856 Democratic National Convention—called for the right of territories to write a constitution, with or without slavery, and petition to join the Union. See Betty D. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 232; Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue*, 214; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 45. For resolutions see *Proceedings*, 19–21. The majority report contained five resolutions, the minority, six; both included the provisions on Cuba and the Mississippi-Pacific railroad.

14. Speech of W. L. Yancey of Alabama, to the National Democratic Convention, April 28, 1860, quoted in McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 215, and Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*:

Prologue, 217. Also *Richmond Dispatch*, April 24, 1860, quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 32.

15. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 27, 1860; Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 54–56.

16. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave taken by his owner to Illinois and, later, Wisconsin, both free states. When Scott sued for his freedom, the Supreme Court ruled that he was not a citizen and thus had no standing to sue. This 1857 decision also declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional because its provision for freeing slaves taken into non-slave states deprived their owners of property without due process, in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

17. Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 302; Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 67.

18. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 1, 1860. Halstead reported the incident slightly differently, stating that when Gittings rose to renew Butler's motion to vote for a nominee, the Alabama delegate, whom Halstead called "Cooper," said, "I don't second *the motion of that man down yonder*" (italics added). Also Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69–70. William S. Gittings was a delegate from Baltimore City. The *Baltimore Sun* on June 22, 1860, referred to Thomas B. Cooper as a delegate from Alabama, and its June 23 issue referred to both Hooper and Cooper. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* gives the name as "Hooper" on May 1. The Douglas men were staying at the Mills House, and southern men at the Charleston Hotel. The reporter brawling at the Mills House was Langmore of the *St. Louis Republican*.

19. Maryland's delegates voted 3.5 yeas and 4.5 nays. Butler's report was defeated 198 to 105, with Marylanders voting 5.5 yeas and 2.5 nays. See *Proceedings*, 29–30. Just prior to the second vote, the gentlemen in the gallery were asked to refrain from using the heads of the men below them as spittoons. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69.

20. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 215. The delegations from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas left. See *Proceedings*, 35–46, for their withdrawal announcements.

21. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 30 and May 2, 1860; Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 72.

22. Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 36; William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery: The Great Battle in the United States Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 481. Miller explains that the two-thirds rule had been used in 1832 and 1836 but not in 1840, and that its reinstatement at the 1844 convention—led by southern delegates—gave the South a regional veto over party decisions. Caleb Cushing was a brilliant orator and former Massachusetts congressman who had entered Harvard at age thirteen. His early abolitionist ardor had cooled considerably by 1860.

23. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue*, 220; Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 31.

24. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue*, 221; Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 86. The Nullification Crisis of thirty years earlier had been brought on by South Carolina's challenge to federal power, in this case over the right of the national government to levy import tariffs against the states. The seceding Gulf States were followed by four delegates from Arkansas, three from Missouri, two from Georgia, and one each from Virginia and Delaware. On the night of April 30, most of the remaining Georgia and Arkansas delegates joined them.

25. Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 38–39. Halstead reported that the southerners convened in St. Andrew's Hall, making no mention of the Charleston Theater. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 85, 87.

26. Abraham Lincoln to Cyrus M. Allen, a lawyer in Vincennes, Indiana, May 1, 1860, and

- Lincoln to Lyman Trumbull, May 1, 1860, both in Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:46, 47. "Danite" was an Illinois term for administration men.
27. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 98; *Baltimore Sun*, May 2, 1860. Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 306, and Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 99, state that two Maryland delegates voted for Douglas, whereas the *Baltimore Sun* reported that 3.5 of Maryland's votes went to Douglas.
28. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 3, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, May 3, 1860. Halstead reported that Gittings was ruled out of order after the fifty-fifth ballot (Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 104. The results of each ballot can be found in *Proceedings*, 46–53. The "Plug Uglies" were one of the most notorious of Baltimore's violent political gangs. The violence they inspired in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially around the time of elections, had by 1860 been greatly curtailed by electoral and police reforms, but the name endured as a symbol of rowdiness.
29. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 101, 105. Gittings's motion finally carried, 168 to 88. See *Proceedings*, 54.
30. No Marylanders joined them.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, May 9, 1860; Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 121, 123.
32. Less than a year later Crittenden would author the great compromise named for him, one of several attempts early in 1861 to entice the seceded states back and keep the upper South and border states from joining the Confederacy. The Crittenden Compromise was a series of constitutional amendments to protect slavery. It was opposed by Lincoln and defeated on the Senate floor, 25 to 23, on January 16, 1861. All 25 votes were cast by Republicans. In one of many ironies of the Civil War, two of Crittenden's sons became generals, one on each side.
33. Donald W. Curl, "The Baltimore Convention of the Constitutional Union Party," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 254.
34. Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 349.
35. *New York Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in *ibid.*, 352.
36. Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858–1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 40; *Baltimore Sun*, April 20, 1860. The Constitutional Unionists elected one delegation, the Know-Nothing city convention the other.
37. *Baltimore Sun*, May 10, 1860. Kennedy was a lawyer, novelist, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and from 1838 to 1846 a Whig member of Congress from Maryland. He served as Millard Fillmore's Secretary of the Navy in 1852 and 1853. He became an ardent Unionist after the Civil War began.
38. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 123, 127. Halstead used several slang expressions of the time: "spreads" were important people, and "Plugs" referred to the rowdy gangs of the period. Other terms included "swells" for men dressed too well, and "screws" for misers. See Hesselstine, 307.
39. *Ibid.*, 131–34; Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 353, gives the results of the second ballot as 138 for Bell and 69 for Houston.
40. Four Maryland delegates attended, and three were given key posts: Dennis Claude became vice president; S. C. Long, secretary; and U.S. Senator Anthony Kennedy (brother of John Pendleton Kennedy) was chosen a member of the party's Executive Union Committee. See Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 124.
41. Bernard C. Steiner, *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1916), 162–63, 169, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 373. Davis, a Know Nothing congressman from Baltimore from 1858 to 1865 (not continuously) and one of the outstanding orators of his

generation, was a strong Unionist who opposed secession on both constitutional and economic grounds.

42. Mayer Papers, quoted in William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 146.

43. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.

44. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860.

45. Robert E. Lee to Major Earl Van Dorn, July 3, 1860, Lee Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 68; *Baltimore Sun*, June 15, 1860.

46. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860; *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Sess., 2247, quoted in Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue*, xx; Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 243.

47. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860.

48. Nichols, *Disruption of Democracy*, 313.

49. *Baltimore Sun*, June 19, 1860. Halstead spelled the name "Saulsbury," as did the *Sun* in its June 23 edition and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* on June 19.

50. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 98, 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 19, 1860. Johnson later fought for the Confederacy and, in 1864, led a cavalry raid that terrorized Baltimore City.

51. R. D. Shropshire to Douglas, April 16, 1860, quoted in Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession*, 119 (italics his).

52. S. S. Fairfield to Douglas, May 19, 1860, quoted in Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession*, 129–30.

53. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.

54. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1860.

55. *Ibid.*; Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 247; *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1860.

56. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860. By telegram and letter, Douglas authorized his forces to withdraw his name for the sake of party unity, though his men refused to do it. Not until he was finally nominated was his offer to withdraw revealed to the convention. The full text of Douglas's letter appeared in the *Sun* of June 25.

57. *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 211.

58. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 249. Stephens, a Democratic representative from Georgia who voted against secession in the 1861 Georgia convention but was fated to become Vice President of the Confederacy, quoted in George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), 468.

59. *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 22, 1860.

60. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 220–21, 234. The reports of the credentials committee are given verbatim on pages 211–19. See also McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 216.

61. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 234. Accounts of the *Baltimore Sun* and Halstead differ regarding which delegates left the convention. Halstead noted that Butler's voice was "like a crosscut saw." *Ibid.*, 24.

62. Article 1, section 9 of the U.S. Constitution contains the founders' compromise on slavery. Its vague language reflected the issue's sensitivity: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight. . . ."—when Congress did in fact ban it.

63. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 244–45, 255. Maryland cast 2.5 votes for Douglas. Fitzpatrick received 198.5 votes to one for William Alexander of New Jersey. Halstead reported that Douglas was actually nominated on the following day. The *Baltimore Sun* and *Baltimore American* both refer in their coverage of the Charleston meeting to a Maryland delegate named F. M. Landham, though Hesselstine on page 284, lists T. M. Lanahan of Baltimore City as a Maryland delegate and makes no mention of a delegate named Landham.
64. Hesselstine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 267–68; *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Institute Hall was also called Market Hall at that time. William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1973), 24, writes that nine of sixteen Maryland delegates bolted. I have not been able to verify that claim elsewhere.
65. Breckinridge received 81 votes, to 20 for former senator and Buchanan ally Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, though after the first ballot the Dickinson votes switched to Breckinridge to make his nomination unanimous. Maryland cast 1.5 votes for Breckinridge and 3 for Dickinson. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Many sources erroneously state that Breckinridge was nominated in Richmond, where the seceders first met following Charleston.
66. Abraham Lincoln to Anson G. Henry, July 4, 1860, in Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:81–82. (Emphasis Lincoln's.)
67. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860.



Portfolio

Howard Hanford Hopkins, Jr. (1848–1906), an 1869 graduate of the University of Maryland School of Medicine, practiced in the New Market area of Frederick County and filled his leisure hours with photography. Working from the mid-1880s on, this talented amateur recorded the daily events and local personalities of New Market, and preserved images of family vacations in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and Camden, South Carolina.

Hopkins's camera captured a certain gentility in the last years of the nineteenth century. Dark woolen bathing suits preserved modesty. Circus parades, holiday celebrations—even dancing dogs—attest to the simpler pleasures of a bygone era. The Maryland Historical Society owns nine albums of the doctor's work and we are pleased to present this sample of his work.

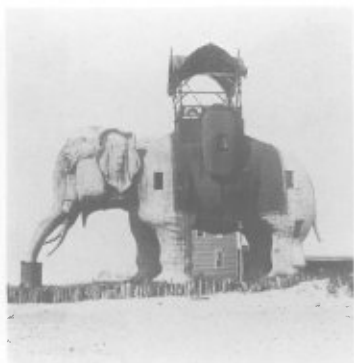
















Going Out: Deer Hunting in the Adirondacks, painting by Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait, 1862. In the 1870s and 1880s, wealthy city-dwellers sought spiritual refreshment and adventure in sporting clubs. (The Adirondack Museum.)

A Sportsman's Paradise: The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club

CYNTHIA OTT

"If an avid sportsman were to imagine himself in Utopia he might well picture that domain of ideal perfection as . . . the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club."

—Henry Bridges, secretary and manager¹

The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club was until recently a private hunting and fishing preserve on the Potomac River approximately one hundred miles northwest of Washington, D.C., near Hancock, Maryland. From 1881 until 1995, when the property was sold to the State of Maryland, its credo was "Protect and Enjoy," and management strove to insure that members and guests did not leave the club disappointed. Visitors came to immerse themselves in "wild" nature. When first established, club members hunted and fished the rich countryside surrounding it, but as local industry and other recreational activities drove off game and fish, Woodmont enclosed its grounds to create an isolated haven of natural abundance. The club stocked its private grounds, adorned the clubhouse, and of course prepared its meals—with wildlife.

Except for signs of age and neglect, little has changed on the property since the fence was erected in the late 1920s. Woodmont therefore provides a rare example by which to examine late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas about nature. Those ideas had changed markedly since the nation's formative years. No longer a place for passive reflection, as envisioned by nineteenth-century Romantics, nature had become for many Americans a stage to recreate primeval challenges pitting "the qualities of manliness and hardiness" against the natural elements.² Woodmont measured its success by the size and numbers of its wild quarry. It also prided itself in the prominence of its sportsmen guests. Both game and clientele provided memorabilia to be displayed throughout the clubhouse.

According to Henry Bridges, Woodmont's secretary and manager from 1908 until his death in 1957, the club originated from a chance meeting between Robert Lee Hill, "an unknown mountaineer" from Hancock, Maryland, and Robley Evans, "a famous Rear Admiral," on a streetcar in Washington, D.C., sometime about 1880.³ Evans apparently accepted Hill's invitation to hunt in the vicinity of Hancock

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the following autumn. When Evans returned from the excursion he hosted a dinner at which he served the venison and turkey he had bagged on the trip. That evening the entire party decided to buy land near where Evans had hunted, marking the inception of the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club.

The tract of land they purchased is situated in Washington County, which lies in a valley between the Allegheny and Blue Ridge mountains.⁴ It is located near the Potomac River approximately five miles west of Hancock and fifteen miles north of Berkeley Springs, West Virginia. An abundance of natural springs had attracted settlers to the area as early as the 1730s. Later the C&O Canal in the 1820s and the B&O Railroad in the 1850s followed the Potomac through the county. Even though the region never experienced any large-scale development, these transportation projects brought the area some recognition.

Railroads brought tourism. From 1877 to 1942, the Western Maryland Railway Company operated Pen-Mar, an elaborate amusement park located atop a mountain on the Mason-Dixon line that featured a roller-coaster, a carousel, and a dance pavilion among other attractions. More long lasting than the amusement park were fruit orchards. Since the mid-nineteenth century, apple and peach growing, along with sand-mining plants, have been the largest local businesses. The topography is one of steep hillsides, abundant creeks, open fields, localized dense forestation, and a temperate climate.

The original Woodmont purchase consisted of 2,023 acres.⁵ Existing dwellings "that were too far from the river to walk or ride" became club quarters until in 1882 a new clubhouse was erected just two hundred yards from the river.⁶ The old quarters became hunting lodges and housing for the game wardens.

The 1870s and 1880s witnessed the growth of hundreds of sporting clubs, but Woodmont's clubhouse received special attention for its architectural and ornamental details in the October 1882 issue of *American Angler*.⁷ The building was a typical Victorian resort-style wooden-frame structure with a wide porch on three sides, which the magazine described as an example of "an Italian style of architecture, painted in fancy but pleasing colors."⁸ It contained a club room, dining room, and ten sleeping chambers that together could accommodate up to forty people. A "grand old-fashioned fireplace" warmed the two central first floor rooms, and two "six-light kerosene chandeliers" provided illumination. The building was "decorated from top to bottom with pictures and engravings of fishing and hunting scenes and other works of art, acquired by purchase, and gifts of friends of the club."⁹ Outbuildings included stables, hen-houses, an ice house (that could hold eighty tons of ice), and a cistern with a capacity of six hundred gallons.

Aside from a small basin that was cleared for the mooring of boats and a vegetable garden placed near the river, the landscape at Woodmont was not altered. The early wildlife management program consisted of posting the property and prosecuting poachers. The *Washington Evening Star* mentions that they "ex-

perimented" with stocking salmon and trout in the river. The limited numbers of hunters permitted on the grounds attracted game from more frequently hunted areas in the region so that game was supposedly in healthy supply. Record books, indicating the number and size of fish and game taken, were kept for "information and entertainment of the club."

During the late nineteenth century, isolated and underdeveloped regions such as Western Maryland attracted urban elites in pursuit of recreation and health. The publication of William H. H. Murray's *Adventures in the Wilderness* in 1869 is often credited with transforming eastern forests, especially the Adirondacks, into a Mecca for outdoor recreation. In his introduction, Murray, a Congregationalist minister from Boston, sought to "encourage manly exercise in the open air, and familiarity with Nature in her wildest and grandest aspects . . . [which will] prove a source of pleasure to many who, like myself, were 'born of hunter's breed and blood' and who, pent up in narrow studies, weary of the city's din, long for a breath of mountain air and the free life by field and flood."¹⁰

Spurred on by his sentiments, those who could afford it sought refuge from the "clutter, corruption, and hectic pace of urban life" in America's less developed regions. Wilderness was perceived as an antidote to what was termed "neurasthenia," or nervous exhaustion, a condition characterized by sleeplessness, anxiety, despondency, and physical aches and pains. A few weeks of breathing fresh, balsamic air and participating in physical exercise were prescribed to alleviate the ailments.¹¹ An article in the November 1883 issue of *Outing* magazine assured readers that "there exists, no doubt, a correlation between the processes by which the body and soul are kept healthy and vigorous by draughts on the great reserves of Nature. One grows tired of books and cloyed with all manner of art. Then comes a hunger and a thirst for nature."¹²

While more glamorous resort hotels provided relaxation and family entertainment, the sporting clubs offered a chance to match one's predatorial skills against the wiles of nature "without molestation by the general public."¹³ George Perkins Marsh, the influential author of *Man and Nature* (1864), stated in an 1857 report to the Vermont legislature that "the chase is a healthful and invigorating recreation, and its effects on the character of the sportsmen, the hardy physical habits, the quickness of eye, hand, and general movement, the dexterity in the arts of pursuit and destruction, . . . the courage and self-reliance, the half-military spirit, in short, which it infuses, are important elements of prosperity and strength in the bodily and mental constitution of a people."¹⁴

The idealized wilderness, as described by poets and politicians and as pictured in fine arts and popular journals, was a place of plenitude and a paradise of lush vegetation. In both Worthington Whittredge's *The Crow's Nest*, painted in 1842, and Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait's *Going Out: Deer Hunting in the Adirondacks* (1862), densely forested hillsides and glimmering streams exude a spirit of natural abun-



An early masthead of *Forest and Stream*.

dance. The vast, untamed landscape, with its dark crevasses hiding the unknown, hints at danger and beckons sportsmen in search of adventure. Echoing the robust and earthy images of these artists, *Forest and Stream*'s masthead during the 1870s portrayed two sporting gentlemen surrounded by mountains, trees, wildlife, and a rustic campsite. Sporting journals such as *Outing*, *American Angler*, *American Sportsmen*, *Forest and Stream*, and *Recreation*, among others, testify to the popularity of the activities and, at annual subscription rates of \$3.00 in 1882, to the relative affluence of the participants.

In the early years of the wilderness craze, from the 1870s through 1900, wealthy urbanites were generally the only group with the leisure and riches to afford such excursions. As "the assault of rapid industrialization and its accompanying Philistinism" began to intrude on public wilderness areas, they began to purchase large tracts of land for their private use.¹⁵ With the exception of a rare female guest, clubs were exclusively a male domain. The first rule of the "Act to Incorporate The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club" stated that "no one shall be entertained on the premises except members, associate members, and their *male* guests."¹⁶ Women, as guardians of Victorian mores, were sometimes blamed for the modern malaise, though they too sought rehabilitation in the out-of-doors.¹⁷

In its early years, the club was commonly reached via railroad or canal. "Members may leave Washington by the 10:15 a.m. express, and be on the Club grounds by 2 p.m. in time for a good afternoon's gunning or fishing; or, angling or hunting all day, they may leave there after 6 p.m. and arrive at home by 9:30, in time for a ball or party or a good night's sleep," noted the *Evening Star*.¹⁸ Members either disembarked at Great Capcapon Station across the river in West Virginia or at the siding right below the clubhouse.

Exorbitant membership fees and annual dues precluded all but the very wealthy

from organizing such a club. Most of the gentlemen comprising the Woodmont membership were, noted the *Evening Star*, those to whom "the people of Washington need no introduction; but for the benefit of strangers it may be said that it includes prominent private citizens, members of both Houses of Congress and distinguished officers in the military and naval services of the country."¹⁹ Each of the original members of Woodmont contributed five hundred dollars to purchase a share of stock. Each succeeding member (the total number was not to exceed thirty-three) paid one hundred dollars in initiation fees. Annual dues were twenty-five dollars.

The club was very strict about opening the facilities to outsiders. Only one guest was permitted per member per season, and that guest had to be approved by two members of the executive committee and accompanied by the sponsoring member at all times. Despite this general policy, Woodmont enthusiastically welcomed some guests, particularly presidents of the United States. According to Bridges, James Garfield, Chester Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, and Grover Cleveland all visited Woodmont between 1881 and 1885. A large boulder in the Potomac a few miles upstream from the clubhouse was christened "Cleveland Rock" because it became President Cleveland's favorite place to fish. An avid outdoorsman, Cleveland apparently returned to Woodmont several times, though the record is unclear.

Cleveland's rock is one of the few notable pieces of Woodmont that remained after a fire in 1903 destroyed the clubhouse. According to Bridges, the fire not only consumed the main building and practically all that it contained but nearly became the undoing of the organization as well. A controversy erupted during discussions of rebuilding, whether the new clubhouse should be an elaborate or a simple structure. The divisions could not be resolved, and as a result, the organization disintegrated and the Woodmont property, which after additional purchases included five square miles of land, was placed on the market.

Six years later, several "men of means and influence in the world of business and high finance" undertook "a prime investment in pleasure" and purchased the deserted property.²⁰ Henry Bridges became the driving force behind the purchase and reorganization of Woodmont. Raised by a wealthy family in Hancock, Bridges was a successful Baltimore lawyer and co-owner of the Berkeley Glass-Sand Corporation in Berkeley Springs.²¹ Most of the other new members were from Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the exception of one of the better known stockholders, Eugene DuPont, of Delaware.

Bridges envisioned the new Woodmont as "a kind of jewel with many facets—an excellent place to hunt and fish, a place to raise wildlife for the forests of the nation."²² At his direction, workers altered the landscape to create an idealized wilderness that provided sport and served as a laboratory for ecological engineering. These things are not mutually exclusive, but they do involve issues of class and show competing attitudes toward nature in the early twentieth century.

While America in the 1910s and 1920s underwent massive urbanization and economic development, a simultaneous movement, led for the most part by the same men who guided the economic expansion, tried to counter modernity's "forces of destruction."²³ Preservation and conservation programs attempted to halt the loss of natural habitat after the country awoke to the extinction of the passenger pigeon and the near eradication of other species such as the bison. Conservationists, including Gifford Pinchot, George Bird Grinnell, and Aldo Leopold in his early years advocated a "wise-use" policy that stressed the role of human intervention as a means of saving the wilderness.

These men were not Romantics. They viewed the ideas of preservationists like John Muir, who believed in the spiritual and communal qualities of nature, as "sentimental" and poor substitutes for the practical work needed to halt the wholesale destruction of America's wildlands. Unlike preservationists, the conservationists valued nature more for how it benefited humankind more than any intrinsic worth it might possess. Aldo Leopold, a leader in the fight for wilderness reservations in the national forests was hardly a modern ecologist seeking to "preserve the integrity of natural ecosystems but a hunter and outdoorsman seeking to preserve the public hunting grounds and recreational space he cherished."²⁴ Outdoor recreation was still widely thought to be a panacea for urban woes. Conservationist William T. Hornaday remarked in 1910 that "if your nerve wracked American will but get out into the rough places, and make his body fit to kill while his brain and stomach rest, he shall come back to his desk wholly made over as good as new."²⁵

Because their focus was on the benefits man might accrue by venturing into the rugged outdoors, many conservationists saw no conflict between hunting and fishing and preservation. "Animals are for man's use, and one of these uses is recreation, of which hunting is a wholesome form. So long as it does not interfere with the maintenance of a permanent breeding stock of any species this recreation is legitimate and praiseworthy," wrote Grinnell. Large preserves offered the best method for saving America's undeveloped regions for future generations. The National Park Service, established in 1916, was part of this stewardship creed. As the introduction to Grinnell's *Hunting and Conservation: The Book of the Boone and Crocket Club* explains, "Wild things [are] assets which possess a tangible value to the community and so are worth preserving; with the further thought that they have been given to us as trustees to hold for those who are to come after us."²⁶

Nature writing that extolled the therapeutic and educational value of trips to the wilderness found a willing readership. Ernest Thompson Seton's *Animal Heroes* (1905), John Burroughs's *Signs and Seasons* (1904), and Jack London's *Call of the Wild* (1904) were three of many celebrated works. These novels and short stories usually portrayed animals with anthropomorphic qualities or wilderness experiences that tested their characters' fortitude. Some of those younger readers

eagerly joined the new Boy Scouts of America and other “school[s] for manhood.”²⁷ Yet fictional heroes and boys’ clubs were not permanent immigrants to the woods but citizens who returned to society. The conservationist movement did not intend a reversion to primitive barbarism, only a short exercise in the great out-of-doors. Clubs, like Woodmont, provided an opportunity for men of means to act out wilderness fantasies they had read about then return with relative ease to their lives in the city.

The sporting clubs’ scenery was as essential to the idealized wilderness experience as it was to a Jack London novel. Woodmont’s new executive committee quickly erected a fence around a five-thousand-acre portion of the grounds. In 1941 the budget for the maintenance of the barrier, wooden posts and wire nine feet high and eighteen miles around, was \$66,000, a considerable sum.²⁸ The fence was both practical and symbolic. It not only kept wildlife in and poachers out, it also signified the creation of a place distinct from its surroundings.²⁹ It literally separated groups and ecosystems, and it metaphorically represented the differences between the social status of the club members and that of the neighboring community. Within its confines, the landscape reflected urban and upper-class values. Woodmont reshaped itself into a “virgin wilderness” that was ideal for recreation. A site plan of 1948 shows roads, game fields, and hunting grounds thoughtfully dispersed to create and sustain a feeling of vastness and solitude. Even when a hundred members and guests were present, the grounds permitted them to be practically unaware of one another. Just beyond the fence lay untidy, and to the membership undesirable, reality.

The only straight, asphalted road in Woodmont was that leading to the clubhouse from the public road. Otherwise, the roads were narrow, dirt by-ways that meandered in wide arches through the grounds connecting game fields, lakes, and the clubhouse.³⁰ By design, they emphasized the recreational aspect of the Woodmont experience. While on the preserve, one was to forget about time and simply enjoy the moment.

Dense forest and distant wooded ridges are nearly all that is visible along these roads. Although most of the land was presumably forested at the time of purchase, between 1924 and 1931 the club planted at least five hundred trees, including walnut, mulberry, and dogwood.³¹ Forty game fields, ranging in size from one to six acres, mimicked the natural habitats of game animals and provided ease of shooting for the hunters. Thick wooden fences were usually placed high on an incline, below which the staff cleared a field and planted it with grasses, corn, millet, buckwheat, and clover to provide habitats for the game animals. No foot trails are indicated on the map, but a mile-long airstrip was cut into one of the ridges.

In the 1920s the club engineered two man-made lakes from a natural spring. According to Bridges the lakes “fitted so naturally into the lay of the land that, when finished, they seemed to have been glistening forever in that wooded and hill-shaded solitude.”³² In fact, Woodmont created its own lakes because pollu-

tion from local industries had nearly destroyed the fish population in the Potomac River and its tributaries. The upper lake, stocked with trout, was about one-quarter mile long and thirty feet deep. The lower lake, filled with bass, was about three-quarters of a mile long and thirty-five feet deep. The limit for either type of fish was ten per fisherman per day. The club also constructed fifteen small ponds "in strategic areas" for the wildlife.³³

Bridges described a wilderness utopia in the opening chapter of *The Woodmont Story*. The club grounds contained "mountains, valleys, lakes, and virgin forest" that would "burgeon forth" with enough birds to darken the sky, "the biggest bucks ever seen," and "huge aquatic fighters." Animals not abundant when Woodmont purchased the property were added in numbers to match the wildest imaginations. According to a Maryland ranger, local hunters were anxious to hunt at Woodmont because reportedly huge game propagated there. Actually, although the area was far from depleted of deer, Bridges wanted to create a larger variety than the indigenous ones. To that end he crossbred local white-tail deer with a breed purchased from Michigan and Wisconsin to produce the largest bucks in the vicinity, ranging in size from two to three hundred pounds.³⁴ The bag limit was usually one per hunter per season but the amount increased some years in an effort to balance the population.

Additionally, Bridges raised pheasants, mallard ducks, and quail. Early in life he had conceived a desire to propagate wildlife for entertainment and business, and as a youth he had raised and sold pigeons and sheep. He also opened "Bridges' Zoo," an animal park that contained grouse, turkeys, rabbits, deer, bobcats, and other "wild and furred commodity" he trapped or purchased.³⁵

His most active breeding program was with wild turkeys. (One of his motives for purchasing Woodmont was to enlarge the wild turkey farm he owned near Hancock.) Hunters prized wild turkeys for their tenacity, their taste, and perhaps their symbolic national significance. By the turn of the century, most wild turkeys had disappeared, in part because their nocturnal habits made them easy targets.³⁶ During daylight hours, turkeys roam the ground and are nearly impossible to hit because they run at the slightest motion or noise. At night they usually perch in trees and can be shot with ease.

Furthermore, most wild turkeys had crossbred with domesticated turkeys, producing a tame bird that presented no challenge to the hunter. Bridges intended to reintroduce a wild turkey without any strain of domestication. He trapped adult birds, took eggs from local nests, and imported others. His hobby became big business—he paid more than a hundred dollars apiece for some birds and sold thousands across the country. Other gentlemen farmers were his colleagues, and their correspondence reveals their excitement over the size and quality of their birds. Bridges employed two full-time game wardens to manage his turkey breeding grounds. The birds were kept in enclosed pens until just a few weeks before



*Henry Bridges (right) posed before a day's catch with Edward E. Jenkins, president of the Woodmont Club, in 1940. (From Henry P. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story* [New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1953].)*

they were to be released for a shoot. "Keeping the birds under cover," Bridges stated, "in no way lessens their wildness. Indeed, imprisonment seems to increase the bird's desire for freedom."

While Woodmont encouraged the propagation of many animals, others were not welcome on the property. "Vermin" was the term used to signify predators that intruded on their wilderness playground. "I am in the business of rearing game and not feeding predators," Bridges explained. He and the wardens hunted, trapped,

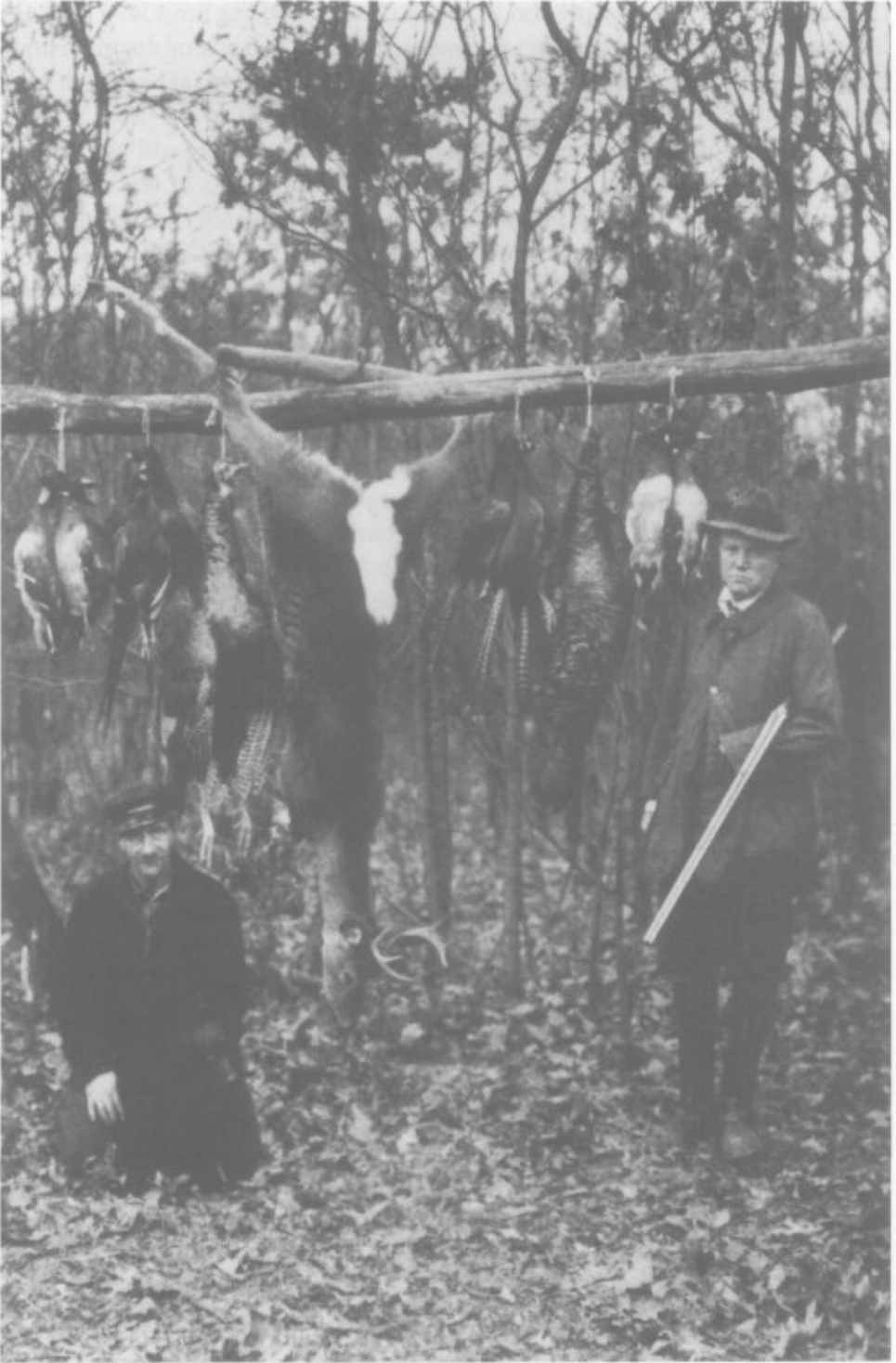
and poisoned unwanted creatures by the score on the property, in accordance with what was a common policy in the early years of game management. Even Aldo Leopold subscribed to it until he recognized the devastation and ecological imbalances it created. Bridges had no such misgivings about eliminating "those rapacious killers . . . the hungry fox, the predatory catamount, the greedy polecat, the dreaded horned owl, the mink, and that maniacal killer, the weasel—merciless villains all, who delight in killing by the hundreds of thousands the game animals and birds."³⁷

On the other hand, when a guest told Bridges, "I want to kill a big buck today. I want to be sure of it," Henry invariably responded with a cordial, "I think I can arrange that." Though the club was open seven days a week from May until January, a trip to Woodmont usually occupied a two-day weekend. From May to November members fished in the lakes. In November they began hunting game, too. Woodmont generally followed Maryland game laws but as an isolated preserve that bred its own animals, they were not required to do so.³⁸

Typically, members hunted or fished in small groups in the morning before meeting for a communal lunch at "Camp Cleveland," a large and picturesque log cabin located between the lakes. Its log walls were left unplastered on the interior. A large stone fireplace decorated with an elk's head covered one gable end, and a large cookstove and a bathroom covered the other. A single long table filled the interior space.³⁹ Like the clubhouse, the cabin emphasized the out-of-doors. Guides prepared meals for the hunters and served themselves in a smaller cabin next door.

All hunting parties were led by guides and usually included no more than three or four people. Restrictions on the number of guests eased through the years, yet usually no more than twenty-five people hunted at the club at any one time.⁴⁰ Hunts were conducted in the woods or the game fields. In either case, it was a controlled enterprise. In the woods, guides chased deer and game birds toward the hunters so that the animals crossed before them. During the turkey drives, as many as six hundred birds were released. No stalking or still hunting, that is, remaining in a stationary position and waiting for an animal to "naturally" approach, was allowed for safety reasons. Only birds were hunted on the game fields. They were taken from the breeding grounds in crates and placed in large temporary pens until the shoot. Hunters knelt at the edge of the woods on the other side of the field as game wardens tossed the fowl over the fences toward them. Bridges claimed to be the only hunter ever injured on the compound.⁴¹

According to William Lawyer, a member during Woodmont's later years, members usually visited the club only three or four times a year. Considering their fees and dues, this made each excursion quite expensive. Of course, they were not just paying for natural ambiance—they wanted something to carry away from their trip. As Bridges noted, "No amount of woodland acres would be worth a hoot to



A Woodmont hunter with a day's kill. (From Bridges, The Woodmont Story.)

the hunter-fisherman if game and fish were scarce.” The bag limit for a two-day hunt was one deer, two turkeys, six pheasants, ten quail, and several ducks.⁴² Hunters outside Woodmont’s imposing fence might need weeks to take game in such numbers.

In his memoirs, Bridges mentioned a member who wanted to add “the distinction of having shot a deer to his accomplishments.” Doubtless he was not alone. “Accomplishments” were best immortalized by stuffing and preserving heads or the entire animal. Bridges instructed novice hunters to aim below the deer’s neck so as not to ruin a “trophy.” The inclination to mount and display the tangible evidence of a sporting excursion was strong at Woodmont. As one author explained, “It attests that its owner has been somewhere and done something—has exercised skill or discrimination in the age-old feat of overcoming, outwitting, or reducing-to-possession.”⁴³ The stuffed mount represented memories of a challenging and rewarding experience and, more to the point, offered proof of the superiority of its captor. The beauty, dexterity, and wit of the hunter’s game became emblematic of his own abilities. As the clubhouse confirms, for many the essence of the Woodmont experience was best captured in a mounted carcass.

Woodmont not only had generous tangible rewards, it also provided a chance to mingle with America’s aristocracy. Much of the legendary nature of Woodmont derives from evenings in the clubhouse where the prominent and affluent celebrated their successes on the game fields. In 1929 the club decided that their wooden clubhouse was inadequate and constructed a new, more “permanent” one. The result was a three-story, 120-foot-long stone building with a gambrel roof. A wide stone-arched front porch spans the length of the house with a covered balcony above. Two stone hunting dogs stand guard on either side of the entry steps. Protruding from the back of the building is a plain flat-roofed extension housing the kitchen, the cleaning room, cold storage, and grounds keepers’ quarters. Except for the green tile roof all the construction materials, including the sand for the mortar, were extracted from the property. Bridges projected that over 600,000 feet of timber was used.⁴⁴ The exterior resembles E. G. Dietrich’s and Gustav Stickley’s first “Craftsmen House” built in 1903.⁴⁵ The club’s choice of Woodmont materials and Craftsmen-style architecture and furnishings were aesthetic and philosophical statements.

The materials used to build the clubhouse reified Woodmont’s identification with nature and strong attachment to its five-square-mile preserve. The design invoked the convictions of Stickley and his peers in the Arts and Crafts movement who rejected the style and materials of modern technology in favor of hand-wrought structures made of natural materials. Theirs fit well with Woodmont’s utopian vision of a primitive landscape with a lofty social purpose. Stickley’s description of John Ruskin and William Morris, two of the most important English proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement, as bearers of “those great essentials of honest exist-



The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club as it was rebuilt in 1929 in the Arts and Crafts style of architecture. (Author's photograph.)

ence, . . . courage, . . . unselfishness, [and] . . . heroic purpose” must have rung with autobiographical truth to Bridges.⁴⁶

The wilderness aesthetic carried from the preserve through the front door of the clubhouse. Upon entering into the fifteen-foot-wide grand main hall, members literally confronted a menagerie of stuffed beasts—mounted on the walls, standing on the furniture, and lying on the floor. An enormous turkey and a variety of “vermin” occupy the hallway. Two bison heads and a moose stare from above the three downstairs fireplaces, and hundreds of cats, deer, birds, and other animals large and small are stiffly posed throughout the building. Prints and paintings that depict wildlife and hunting scenes, including two engravings and one sketch by James Audubon, adorn the walls. Accented by the dark, hewn beams overhead, and the wainscoting and wooden floor below, the rooms convey “a feeling of the woods themselves.”⁴⁷

The decor represented not only conquests of nature but social triumphs as well. Hanging alongside heads of bison and deer were photographs and memorabilia of presidents, congressmen, European noblemen, famous sports heroes, and popular celebrities. Grover Cleveland, Amos 'n' Andy, Gene Tunney, and Babe Ruth grace the club, often accompanied by letters expressing their heartfelt appreciation for a Woodmont weekend. A pipe owned by Sitting Bull, a pen with which Franklin Roosevelt signed the guestbook, an Arabian sultan's powder horn, and a



The porch at the rebuilt clubhouse stretches the full 125 feet of the building. (Courtesy of Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.)

dinner bell used by George Washington's slaves all added an aura of privilege and sanctity to the place. Even the fireplaces were signature pieces. Each contained a significant stone in their mantels: in the hall fireplace a stone from nearby Fort Frederick of French and Indian War vintage; in the dining room a survey stone used by George Washington; and in the club room a stone taken from the fireplace of General Braddock's 1754 headquarters on the Potomac River.

The forty-foot-square grand main rooms on either side of the hallway and the smaller lounges contained Mission-style furnishings.⁴⁸ A. J. Fink, owner of the Southern Hotel in Baltimore, was the interior designer, though it is unclear whether he purchased the furnishings or they were brought from the previous clubhouse. Cast-iron lamps and chandeliers accented heavy, Gothic-inspired mahogany tables and chairs. The club room to the right of the entrance contained leather sofas and easy chairs, an arm chair constructed of steer horns, and the celebrated "President's chair."

According to Bridges, this "President's chair" was the only surviving piece of furniture from the 1903 fire.⁴⁹ The hickory, cane-seated rocking chair possibly was crafted by William Elkins, a Woodmont game warden. Ostensibly for the comfort and relaxation of visiting presidents, the chair was also, of course, a revered icon of



Entry hall of the rebuilt clubhouse at Woodmont, filled with sportsmen's trophies. (From Bridges, The Woodmont Story.)

the club's distinction. Six metal plates, each inscribed with the name and date of a presidential visit, are nailed into the chair's right arm. Herbert Hoover's and Franklin Roosevelt's names were added in 1932 and 1935, respectively.

The dining room, to the left of the entry way, contains two long tables that each seat sixteen people. Guests were not only served game for dinner, usually turkey or venison shot by Bridges himself, they also ate from Czechoslovakian plates decorated with a pheasant motif. Carved animal heads embellished two sideboards. Similar animal-carved pieces, such as cuckoo clocks and a wall-mounted coat rack, hang on walls throughout the building. The form of these wildlife-imbued furnishings far overshadows their functions.⁵⁰ The second floor, though inundated by the wildlife aesthetic, is more modest than the first. Bedrooms are organized dormitory-style with up to six beds per room and communal baths. The kitchen, the staff's domain, is commodious but unadorned.

Neither the magic nor the practical operations at Woodmont could have been managed without the assistance of employees hired from the local community. Three tenant families and other day workers staffed the farm, the game preserve, and the lodge, serving as game wardens, cooks, handymen, porters, and, perhaps most importantly, as guides. Although club members were long on enthusiasm,

most lacked the skills needed to manage independently in the wild. Bridges repeatedly noted incidents of “buck fever” (when a hunter freezes at the sight of a deer) and other sporting faux-pas. Sportsmen relied on their guides to locate, carry, and clean game, and to generally keep them out of real danger. A guide wormed a fishing hook for FDR.

Nearly one hundred years before Bridges’s book, William Murray called guides “the most important of all considerations to one about to visit the wilderness . . . like a good wife, [he] is indispensable to one’s success, pleasure, and peace,” a sentiment that became part of Woodmont’s culture. While their backwoods wisdom was highly valued and regularly praised, employees were nevertheless portrayed as gruff, unsophisticated hillbillies. The contrast in Bridges’s memoirs between the “homespun” of Robert Hills, Woodmont’s first guide, and the “gold braided uniform” of founder Robley Evans, exemplifies the perceived cultural disparity. It is also revealed in a photograph of Bridges and the guide Otto Booth, which is strikingly similar to Frederick Remington’s *Spring Trout Fishing in the Adirondacks—An Odious Comparison of Weights* (1890). In both images, the guide crouches in a subservient pose. His disheveled appearance and goofy grin contrast sharply with the serious gaze of the sportsmen in their tweeded apparel. Bridges described another guide quite literally in terms of wild nature. “Abraham,” he explained, “scratched his mop of wild black hair until it shook like a briar patch with crows roosting in it.”⁵¹

Just as urban elites expressed a great sense of loss for a vanishing primitive landscape, so too did they mourn the cultural loss of its inhabitants. The 1920s especially witnessed a surge in popularity of backwoods crafts and music. Educated, wealthy urbanites sponsored festivals throughout Appalachia in the hope of revitalizing dying traditions.⁵² At Woodmont, a young boys’ orchestra, supplemented by some of the guides, regularly gave concerts in the evenings. William Elkins’s accordion and Harvey Van Gosen’s fiddling so impressed President Roosevelt that he asked them to perform at the White House in 1935.

It is difficult to determine what local residents thought of the club and its members. Surely Elkins and Van Gosen were thrilled to perform in Washington, but the air of sophistication around them may well have been unnerving. Nevertheless, Woodmont did provide economic opportunity for the men, women (who served as cooks), and their children. While some resented the hunting and fishing privileges accorded Woodmont’s members, the community, by and large accepted it within their community.⁵³ Presumably, the workers had their own stereotypes and regularly lampooned those they served.

Operating and maintaining a place like Woodmont entails a tremendous amount of money and strong personal dedication. When Bridges died in 1957, the club continued on but without the same panache. The fence collapsed in places and animals disregarded it. Slowly, without the diligent intervention of an energetic

staff, native animals and vegetation reclaimed the land. In the 1990s the annual budget was estimated to be \$300,000—beyond the reach of the remaining members, many of whom were descendants of earlier ones. As a result, Woodmont was placed on the market, where it was purchased by the state.

Without the finances to maintain the facility, Maryland's Department of Natural Resources leased the clubhouse and fifteen hundred acres to a newly formed chapter of the Isaac Walton League. The lease includes a caveat that the club must open to the general public several times a year. Nevertheless, the Woodmont tradition appears to have survived, as a new generation of urbanites searches for rejuvenation, invigoration, and camaraderie in a landscape reshaped to exceed their wildest dreams.

NOTES

1. Henry P. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1953), 3.
2. Theodore Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), 204.
3. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 33–41. Actually, Bridges dated the event to 1870 instead of 1880. Articles about Woodmont published in 1882 and 1883 indicate that the year was 1880, which makes more sense relative to the construction of the clubhouse and the club's incorporation in 1882.
4. For a history of the area, see Mary Michael, *The Story of Washington County* (Williamsport, Md.: n.p., 1993).
5. "The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club," (*Washington*) *Evening Star*, April 28, 1883.
6. "The Woodmont Rod and Gun Club. Its Organization—Description of Club-House, etc.," *American Angler*, no. 17 (October 21, 1882).
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.* It was designed by the architect W. G. Phillips.
9. *Ibid.*
10. William H. H. Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1869), 8.
11. David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 176; George M. Beard, *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences, a Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), and Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 137–66. Some physicians also viewed the wilderness as a tangible medicinal cure. For example, in 1873, Edward Trudeau opened a tuberculosis clinic on the edge of Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks believing that infected lungs were healed by the balsamic mountain air. This sanatorium, and others like it, quickly gave way to large resort hotels that catered to their visitors' desire for both healthful recreation in a rustic natural setting, and comfortable and plush accommodations.
12. "Outdoor Influences in Literature," *Outing: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Sport, Travel, and Recreation* (November 1883): 101–5.
13. H. J. Cookingham, "The Bisby Club and the Adirondacks," *American Field*, 18 (March 10, 1883): 172. Quoted in John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), 58.

14. George Perkins Marsh, *Report, Made Under Authority of the Legislature of Vermont, on the Artificial Propagation of Fish* (Burlington, 1857), 8–9 quoted in Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 44.
15. Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 33.
16. Woodmont Rod and Gun Club, "An Act to Incorporate the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club," March 1882. Author's italics.
17. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). Many issues of *Outing* during the late 1880s and early 1890s featured articles about women and exercise and their use of sporting equipment, including guns. Nevertheless it seems that women were probably always on the periphery of the sporting movement.
18. *Evening Star*, April 28, 1883.
19. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1883.
20. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 24, 53.
21. In 1927, the corporation merged with another to become the Pennsylvania Glass-Sand Corporation.
22. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 18.
23. George Bird Grinnell and Charles Sheldon, *Hunting and Conservation: The Book of the Boone and Crocket Club* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), 29.
24. Craig W. Allin, "The Leopold Legacy and American Wilderness," in Thomas Tanner, ed., *Aldo Leopold: The Man and His Legacy* (Ankeny, Iowa: Soil Conservancy Society of America, 1987), 27.
25. William T. Hornaday, "America's Next Great Playground," *Recreation*, 31 (May 1910): 211, quoted in C. W. Bucholtz, "The National Park as a Playground," *Journal of Sport History*, 5 (Winter, 1978): 24.
26. Grinnell and Sheldon, *Hunting and Conservation*, xi, 201; Bucholtz, "The National Park as a Playground."
27. See Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).
28. Figures from Woodmont cash book stored at the clubhouse.
29. Ideas adopted from those discussed in Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanist Perspective," *Progress in Geography*, 6 (1974): 213–47.
30. From 1922 to 1931 the club spent over \$10,000 on road construction according to the Woodmont account book.
31. Per Woodmont account book.
32. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 155.
33. Tom McNally, "Woodmont and Its Master-Mind," *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, November 20, 1955, 13.
34. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 3–4, 86. The ranger, John McCusker, used to deliver hay and other crops to the club as a teenager. His family has lived in the area for generations.
35. *Ibid.*, 57.
36. Conversation with David Heisler, a Maryland hunter; Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 130.
37. McNally, "Woodmont and Its Master-Mind," 13; Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 136.
38. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 67. A letter dated January 15, 1942, from E. Lee LeCompte, a Maryland game commissioner, to George Foote, a resident of the town of Lonaconing near Woodmont stated, "We have your letter of January 13 concerning the fact that the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club had ten more days for the hunting of deer than the rest of the State. [They are granted this privilege because they] raise their own deer and do not depend upon the deer raised outside in the State."

39. The door to Camp Cleveland was obviously taken from another dwelling, possibly the clubhouse built in 1908. It is a broad white-painted wood door with an arch of windows above it.
40. Interview by author on March 11, 1996 with Mr. William Lawyer, Woodmont member, ca. 1970–1995.
41. He shot himself in the hand with an accidentally double-loaded rifle. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 106–7.
42. Ibid., 4.; McNally, “Woodmont and Its Master-Mind,” 11.
43. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 76; L. James Bashline and Dan Saults, eds., *America’s Great Outdoors: The Story of the Eternal Romance between Man and Nature* (Chicago: J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, 1967), 240.
44. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 59.
45. The architect is unknown.
46. Gustav Stickley, *The Craftsman: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for the Simplification of Life*, inaugural issue, 1901, as quoted in Shi, *The Simple Life*, 191. John Ruskin (1819–1900), an art critic and historian, and William Morris (1834–1896), a designer and decorator, were prominent socialists who advocated the production and use of hand-crafted items in order to improve the quality of workers’ lives and their finished goods. The Arts and Crafts Movement reached the United States in the late nineteenth century. *The Craftsman* was the leading platform for Ruskin’s and Morris’s ideas in America. Many American followers rejected the Englishmen’s social utopianism and instead celebrated the aesthetic and antimodern dimensions of the crusade.
47. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 59.
48. Although Arts & Crafts ideology was oriented towards the working class, the expense of their products precluded all but the very wealthy from acquiring them.
49. The chair, along with all the other clubhouse furnishings and decorations, was included in the sale and is now owned by the State of Maryland.
50. As Kenneth Ames suggested, animal trophies primarily signify humans’ conquest of the natural world. See chapter two, “Death in the Dining Room,” in Kenneth L. Ames, *Death in the Dining Room & Other Victorian Tales of Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).
51. Bridges, *The Woodmont Story*, 176.
52. See David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), especially chapter 3 which describes the White Top Folk Festival, 1931–1939.
53. This statement is based on opinions expressed in several informal interviews with Hancock residents.

Book Reviews

American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson. By Joseph J. Ellis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. 384 pages. Appendix, notes, index. \$26.00.)

Joseph J. Ellis, Ford Foundation Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College, has been captivated by the legacy of Thomas Jefferson since graduate school. He confesses a “youthful infatuation” for his fellow “native Virginian,” an infatuation that cooled after decades of reflection. *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* is Ellis’s mature reckoning with a figure who remains inspirational—who remains an icon—for millions of Americans.

American Sphinx is not a full-scale biography: it is rather an interpretive account of Jefferson’s intellectual and psychological development, presented in a series of episodic chapters that seek to portray and evaluate Jefferson in critical phases of his life. Ellis makes it clear that he has written *American Sphinx* for a wider audience than fellow academicians. He is writing for his fellow citizens—for thoughtful and serious Americans. He is seeking to relate the Jefferson whom we use as a political symbol to the legacy of Jefferson the man. While Ellis is impatient with mythologies and popularizations, he is also impatient with the sorts of historians who tend to make history “an irrelevant, cloistered, indeed dead place, populated only by historians.” Ellis, in short, wants to know why Jefferson *matters*. He approaches the legacy—the life and work—from the standpoint of character analysis. What kind of person, he is asking, was Thomas Jefferson?

Jefferson is the “Great Sphinx of American history,” in Ellis’s view, not only because he is “the enigmatic and elusive touchstone for the most cherished convictions and contested truths in American culture,” but also because he played a paradoxical role in his own times: he created a legacy of great clarity in some respects and bewildering murkiness in others. The “cherished convictions” of the Jeffersonian tradition derive from what Ellis regards as the authentic political principles of Jefferson “from the time he first appeared on the national stage in 1775 until his exquisitely timed death on July 4, 1826.” The “contested truths” of the Jeffersonian heritage relate to the contradictions and inconsistencies that flowed from Jefferson’s convictions. In life, Jefferson “combined great depth with great shallowness,” Ellis contends, “massive learning with extraordinary naiveté, piercing insights into others with daunting powers of self-deception.”

Ellis argues that one of the keys to Jefferson’s character was his penchant for idyllic and sentimentalized visions: his belief, for example, in an ancient never-land of Anglo-Saxon harmony, an agrarian Arcadia that he hoped to re-create in

the American West. In Ellis's opinion, the poetry and magic of Jefferson's social vision reveal that he "was not a profound political thinker" at all, but rather a brilliant "visionary" whose belief in a "natural" order "requiring no external discipline and producing maximum human happiness" is a fantasy in which "real-life choices do not have to be made."

Ellis believes that Jefferson's "entire way of thinking about government was different from that of any other prominent American leader of the time," and he does not mean this in entirely complimentary terms. Jefferson was the sort of visionary who never grew up; both John Adams and James Madison, in Ellis's opinion, had better minds because they understood the complexities of balanced statecraft that Jefferson was simply too self-indulgent—too childish, in truth—to take seriously:

Both Adams and Madison, in their different ways, were informing Jefferson that the outstanding accomplishment of the revolutionary generation had been the realistic recognition of the need for limits as well as liberation, that the American republic had endured because its creators made sensible compromises with political power, that the genius of the American Revolution resided in its capacity to harness, indeed to consolidate, the energies released by the movement for independence.

But Jefferson, it turned out, had not seen it that way at all. He regarded himself as the untamed essence of the original revolutionary impulse, uncontaminated by any implicit understandings of 1776 (here he parted with Adams) or any explicit compromises with political power in 1787–88 (here he parted with Madison).

Jefferson's "alluringly irresponsible" brand of politics, Ellis believes, originated in the mind of "a very vulnerable young man accustomed to constructing interior worlds of great imaginative appeal that inevitably collided with the more mundane realities," which were then dismissed "as the world's problem rather than his own." And he never outgrew these habits: "this affinity for idealized or idyllic visions, and the parallel capacity to deny evidence that exposed them as illusory, proved to be a central feature of Jefferson's mature thought and character," according to Ellis. *American Sphinx* acknowledges Jefferson's perennial ability to overcome these weaknesses, especially under the influence of friends like Madison. The book is never heavy-handed in critiquing Jefferson. To the contrary, Ellis writes extremely graceful prose, and he establishes a warmly empathetic tone that is never really dissipated even by the most unsparing allegations of Jefferson's duplicities. Ellis's "youthful infatuation" lingers, and *American Sphinx* often reads like a series of interesting anecdotes about a deeply neurotic but undeniably lovable member of the family. Paradoxically, however, the empathetic

tone of the book makes the force of its critique overpowering. Especially the emphasis on Jefferson's patterns of psychological denial and evasion—"his capacity to play hide-and-seek within himself"—develops devastating power. By the time Ellis delivers his pronouncement that Jefferson "had all along been living a lie" with regard to slavery, we have seen him exposed at his worst in innumerable ways. For all of his intellectual gifts, we have seen him revealed as a case of arrested development, as a childish stubborn *naif*. For all of his rhetorical humanity and altruism, we have seen him exposed as an extravagantly self-centered man. For all of his charm, we have seen him portrayed as spoiled—mad-deningly spoiled. And for all of his philosophical integrity, we have been shown that his consistencies were only maintained at the cost of a deep intellectual dishonesty that brushed aside—or distorted—any facts that might spoil the idealized visions with which he was beguiling himself.

Slowly, relentlessly, the cumulative force of the indictment builds to the climax of Jefferson's death, when the price of his self-indulgence was paid in full. In personal and family terms, it was paid in the form of bankruptcy and the auctioning of Monticello. In the public sphere, another heavy reckoning occurred: Jefferson's final ruminations played into the hands of the defenders of slavery.

Notwithstanding Ellis's literary skill, is his interpretation convincing? Of equal importance, is it fair? Historians will doubtless argue over various details of *American Sphinx*, and there are several issues in the book that could justify some minor quarrels. On the whole, however, *American Sphinx* is both convincing and eminently fair. The greatness of the Jeffersonian legacy is indisputable: the sayings of a great many oracles can be put to splendid uses, and Jefferson-the-symbol will continue to advance the cause of freedom for centuries to come. But as Joseph J. Ellis has shown, when the Jeffersonian heritage remains uncorrected by the countervailing insights of Founders such as Hamilton, Madison, Washington, and Adams, it becomes a source of great weakness as well as great strength in our American character.

RICHARD STRINER
Washington College

The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland. By T. Stephen Whitman. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997. 256 pages. Appendix, notes, index. \$35.95.)

In the decades following American independence, Baltimore grew from a tiny hamlet on Jones' Falls Creek to become a sprawling metropolis surpassed in population only by New York City and Philadelphia. Most of the city's spectacular growth was due to slavery; before 1810 city dwellers purchased eight times as many slaves from the countryside as they sold to rural buyers. Baltimore masters

represented all walks of life, and even residents of modest means relied on unfree labor. If prosperous merchants purchased house servants in an ostentatious display of luxury and status, white craftsmen commonly invested up to half of their taxable property in skilled bondsmen whose labor could aid in the accumulation of wealth. Despite the obvious importance of black servitude in Baltimore, there has been no study of Maryland slavery limited to the early national period—until now. T. Stephen Whitman of Mount Saint Mary's College has produced a work of genuine excellence on urban bondage in the decades before slavery disappeared in the middle ground.

Based on a mother lode of documentation, including personal correspondence, church records, wills, bills of sale, and even jail records, Whitman's study demonstrates the protean and robust nature of slavery in Maryland after the Revolution, even as a rising tide of private manumissions began to erode its moorings. As early as the 1790s, many skilled bondsmen used the implicit threat of escape to nearby Philadelphia (or even into Baltimore's back alleys) to negotiate for freedom by manumission after a final term of service (typically ten years). While serving out their time, these term slaves might be sold several times, usually at one-half the price of those who were slaves for life. Ironically, while nervous masters were forced into manumission deals to prevent flight or to motivate unwaged workers, the creation of inexpensive term slavery initially helped spread the peculiar institution throughout the growing city by making it affordable to artisans and shopkeepers of humble circumstances.

Despite claims made by the University Press of Kentucky, Whitman's monograph is not, of course, the "first book to study slavery in an urban context." But Whitman does qualify or correct arguments advanced in classic studies by Robert Starobin and Claudia Goldin. Historians who doubt that unwaged labor was compatible with industrialization, for example, tend to compare business endeavors, such as cotton manufacturing, in which the North invariably began in the lead. Whitman's insightful investigation of the Maryland Chemical Works, however, examines industrial slavery in an enterprise that had barely begun in either section of the young republic. By buying or hiring term slaves—who tended toward absenteeism less frequently than their white counterparts—Baltimore industrialists kept their labor costs to a minimum. Labor control was an altogether different matter. Because slaves employed by the Chemical Works resided in an all-male dormitory called the Negro House, the time-honored method of controlling aggressive bondsmen by threatening to sell them away from wives and children proved less effective than in the countryside. Whitman ultimately sides with Richard Wade, who had few doubts about the profitability of urban slavery but expressed grave reservations about its long-term viability. For southern capitalists, the unexpected need to bargain with their black workers, Whitman suggests, exacted a business cost in both time and trouble as well as "a psychic

cost that led the owners to limit their commitment to industrial slavery" (36).

Despite the fact that Maryland was a hotbed of colonization activity, Whitman says surprisingly little about how Maryland freemen regarded the daunting prospect of starting anew in a foreign land. The free black community in Philadelphia, and to a lesser degree, Boston, proved largely hostile to the idea of emigration, but Marie Tyler-McGraw has demonstrated that more than a few Richmond freemen, worn down by southern racism, turned their backs on the United States in hopes of finding a better life in Liberia. More seriously, Whitman pays little attention to the rise of black churches in Baltimore or community formation in the aftermath of servitude.

These minor flaws notwithstanding, Whitman's study has enormous merit. Such a detailed investigation of unfree labor in early Baltimore was long overdue. *The Price of Freedom* deserves a place on every shelf alongside similar studies by Gary Nash, Shane White, and Graham Hodges.

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON
Le Moyne College

The Battle for Baltimore, 1814. By Joseph A. Whitehorne. (Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1997. 288 pages. Illustrations, maps, appendices, index. \$29.95.)

In *The Battle for Baltimore, 1814*, Joseph A. Whitehorne delivers a well-balanced narrative which thoroughly details the Chesapeake Bay campaign of 1814 and the often disjointed American efforts to counter the combined, and almost equally disordered, assaults of Britain's land and maritime forces. The efforts of Maryland and, particularly, the city of Baltimore are central to Mr. Whitehorne's account. It was, after all, the Old Line State that "supplied the ships, the men, and the money that sustained the resilience of the region and enabled it to fight its greatest battle" (x-xi). In telling the story, Whitehorne also recognizes the roles and contributions of the smaller towns along the Chesapeake Bay. Additionally, the writer skillfully describes the various American and British units, their soldiers, their functions, and their organization.

According to the author, "American military success was in an inverse ratio to the scale of the federal government's involvement" (x). The picture of national political and military leadership that emerges in this history of the campaign is largely one of strategic and operational myopia exacerbated by ignorance and the willful hindrance by the War Department of local defensive efforts. Republican leadership, by focusing intensely upon the northern theater, seems to have ignored purposefully the vulnerability of the Chesapeake Bay's political, commercial, and agricultural centers. It is a wonder that Republican support in affected areas continued despite the party's lack of capable national leadership.

Responding to this dire want of direction, state and local leaders, community organizations, and a handful of regular officers quickly filled the void left by the federal government. Indeed, energetic leaders like Governors Levin Winder of Maryland and James Barbour of Virginia, General Samuel Smith of the Maryland militia, Commodore Joshua Barney of the Navy, and Major George Armistead of the Army served as antidotes to federal lethargy and ineptitude. Organizations like Baltimore's Committee of Vigilance and Safety marshaled the funds, equipment, manpower, and popular support that built and manned the area's defenses.

By blockading and mounting a series of raids throughout the Chesapeake region, Britain hoped to divert American attention from Canada and to foment American resistance against the federal government and the prosecution of the war. English operations, however, soon took on the added dimension of personal retribution. Punishing the American people and their leaders seems to have become the order of the day. Angered by the Bay populace's rabid anti-English sentiment, the great harm Baltimore privateers had caused the empire's merchant marine, and egged on by their home press, British forces waged a destructive and seemingly wanton campaign against American shipping and property. Inflamed by enemy depredations, regional leaders and military forces responded creatively and energetically against the raiders. United States victories were, therefore, due in no small part to the intensity of reaction aroused by the British destruction of property and their vigorous foraging.

Despite its strengths, *The Battle for Baltimore* evinces some analytical and editorial problems that detract from the general quality of the work. In his description of the British decision to attack Baltimore, Whitehorne ventures into conjecture. The author states that General Robert Ross "must have been in agreement with [Rear Admiral George] Cockburn as he got [Vice Admiral Alexander F. I.] Cochrane to change his plans and approve an attack" on the city (161). This may very well have been the case, but by hazarding such an assumption the historian casts doubt upon his analysis, thereby weakening the efficacy of his arguments. Given the significance of Cochrane's decision, it is that much more important to rely upon the certitude of the sources. The most vexing issue, however, is the footnote style. By citing only the last name and the page number in even the first instance, the author forces the reader into a time-consuming bibliographic search to determine the provenance of the quote. Issues such as these, while seemingly minor details, have a great impact. They may cause the reader to question seriously the author's research and conclusions.

Notwithstanding some shortcomings within this book, the overriding qualities of narration and description make it a valuable addition to studies of military and naval operations in the Chesapeake Bay region. The research is comprehensive and reflects the author's obvious passion for his work. *The Battle for*

Baltimore is a convenient reference and will no doubt please readers interested in the military history of the War of 1812. Whitehorne's work is more than an account of a single engagement, it is the compact history of an entire campaign.

RICARDO A. HERRERA
Marquette University

Maryland Lighthouses of the Chesapeake Bay. By F. Ross Holland. (Crownsville, Md.: The Maryland Historical Trust Press, and Colton's Point, Md.: The Friends of St. Clement's Island Museum, Inc., 1997. 208 pages. Notes, index. \$32.95.)

Lighting the Bay: Tales of Chesapeake Lighthouses. By Pat Vojtech. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1996. 208 pages. Appendix, sources list, index. \$34.95.)

For many years only one book surveyed the lighthouses of the Chesapeake Bay, Robert de Gast's *The Lighthouses of the Chesapeake* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). Now there are no fewer than four books surveying the region's lighthouses and relating their histories, including these two excellent contributions by F. Ross Holland and Pat Vojtech.

Maryland Lighthouses of the Chesapeake Bay traces the construction and administration of lighthouses on the Potomac River and upper Chesapeake Bay in four chronological chapters, with a fifth chapter dedicated to the construction of the area's distinctive, low, screwpile lighthouses. Holland describes efforts to combat erosion that threatened or destroyed a number of Maryland light stations, as well as the development of buoy depots at Lazaretto Point in Baltimore and Point Lookout at the mouth of the Potomac. The final two chapters review the changing responsibilities of light keepers and the impact of automation, demolition, and preservation on these prominent aspects of Maryland's maritime built environment.

The story of Maryland lighthouses begins in 1819 with a congressional appropriation for a lighthouse at Bodkin Island, marking the mouth of the Patapsco River, first lighted in 1822. Early Maryland lighthouses were short, conical masonry towers with an adjacent keeper's dwelling, or, a less expensive alternative, a lantern mounted on the house's roof. The early Maryland lighthouses were contracted by Stephen Pleasonton, fifth auditor of the Treasury, who receives much of the blame for the inadequacies of early lighthouses. Pleasonton never accepted expensive Fresnel lenses, preferring the inferior parabolic reflectors. The Lighthouse Board, which took over the administration of lighthouses from Pleasonton in 1852, introduced important new technology, including Fresnel lenses, bell buoys, and screwpile construction.

The author of *Maryland Lighthouses* provides some national context for the area's lighthouses, covering the federal administration of lighthouses under Pleasonton, the Lighthouse Board, the Bureau of Lighthouses, and finally the

Coast Guard. He notes the unique character of lighthouses in the Chesapeake Bay; outside of the sounds of North Carolina and the Chesapeake, few low screwpile lighthouses were built. These distinctive structures were typically square or hexagonal wooden dwellings with a light on top and stood on iron pilings in shoal waters, such as Thomas Point Shoal light just south of Annapolis. In 1873 the first caisson lighthouse in the United States was built in Maryland as a range light to guide vessels through the Craighill Channel, an important approach to the Patapsco River and Baltimore. Several more caisson lighthouses were built in these waters and examples survive from the Maine coast to the Chesapeake. These cylindrical iron foundations were sunk into submerged muds and surmounted by a brick, iron, or in one case, wooden dwelling and lantern.

This attractive book is enriched with a wealth of archival photographs, architectural drawings, and prints. Details of an 1873 Maryland atlas are included to help locate a number of the earlier lighthouses. A full map of Maryland's Chesapeake Bay waters with all of the light stations mentioned is very helpful, although the relocated Hooper Strait lighthouse and its predecessor light vessel and lighthouse are placed in St. Michaels instead of their original location. Quotes from interviews with descendants of keepers enhance the chapter on keepers.

The text is well documented, relying heavily on government records and publications. The shortcomings of this work lie chiefly in the lack of a human face in the story. Aside from John Donahoo, who built twelve of Maryland's first seventeen lights, lighthouse builders and keepers receive little more than a name, if they are mentioned at all. Admittedly, the official records do not lend very well to this sort of depth, and the author uses them as advantageously as possible, noting the early appointments of women, particularly widows of deceased keepers, to Chesapeake light stations. This book will stand as an authority on Maryland's lighthouses and fog stations and the administration of aids to navigation on the Chesapeake.

Lighting the Bay: Tales of Chesapeake Lighthouses does an especially good job of adding a human touch to the history of Chesapeake lighthouses. This well designed, readable book is beautifully illustrated with contemporary color photographs by the author. As the title implies, this is more a collection of well-told stories than a history. A chronological list of lighthouses, light vessels, and lighthouse tenders in the appendix is generally accurate, but the information is less complete than can be found in other sources, including Holland's.

Pat Vojtech conducted several interviews with relatives of lighthouse keepers and quotes them in her stories. There is considerable crossover between her list of contacts and those interviewed by the Maryland Historical Trust, who are quoted in *Maryland Lighthouses*. Like Holland, Vojtech relied on government records for much of her data, but also treated her first-person interviews and a long list of newspaper articles as sources. She provides vignettes on life in lighthouses, storms, wrecks, and even the mysterious death of a light keeper, who

may have been murdered by rumrunners. To appeal to the general reader, Vojtech dispenses with endnotes, making her work less useful to historians.

The lighthouse aficionado will want to turn to Holland's more detailed and documented text, fabulous architectural drawings, and archival photographs. The general reader will find Vojtech's book richer in human stories and more accessible. Those deeply interested in this aspect of Maryland's maritime heritage should read both.

PETE LESHER

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum

Black Jacks: African-American Seamen in the Age of Sail. By W. Jeffrey Bolster. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997. 320 pages. Tables, notes, index. \$27.00.)

How can the landlubber comprehend the sea—its power to attract and overwhelm? Jeffrey Bolster's survey may provide the best answers so far this side of fiction. With crisp writing and thorough knowledge of the subject, his fine book gives the reader a deep awareness for the hard, dangerous life of men under sail as the immense forces of nature are set against the products of the most skilled of artisans, the builders of wooden ships in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He presents the drama of the lowest of the downtrodden, the angriest and most discouraged of mankind—victims of slavery—set upon the pitching decks of ships, who, once there, gained a measure of dignity and respect as their courage and skill often determined the outcome of the battle between ship and sea.

Through the lives of black sailors, mostly slaves, some free, Bolster chronicles the breaking of chains as skill and practical knowledge gained at sea allowed African Americans to taste equality, even though its aftertaste was often death. Such was the attraction of sailing, and through the experiences of the men who appear in this book, the landlubber learns why men, regardless of color, returned to this life of danger and discomfort, to be controlled by captains with absolute authority. But that is the point; once at sea the master was denied the complete power of a tobacco planter, as all aboard were dependent on one another, a recognition that transported the slave once inside this special life.

No matter how risky, life at sea or on inland waterways during the adventurous eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided slaves with leaders, communicators, and passage out of the grinding, life-shortening work on southern and island plantations. Through a broad selection of African-American mariners who kept journals or made news across these centuries, we understand the nature of their lives, but more important, we discover the effect of these mariners on slaves in black communities in the United States, the Caribbean, and in Africa. The unique freedom enjoyed by slave mariners heightened their impact on less fortunate blacks, both free and slave.

Touching on important situations in history affecting African-American mariners, Bolster creates a clear picture of how the slave rebellion in Haiti in 1792 had a broad and long-lasting effect on American political life. Fear of uprisings or merely fear of black power produced one of the great contradictions in modern history. Once free of slavery, African Americans faced an increasing number of laws and social restrictions as white America tightened its political grip on economic opportunity. After the Civil War it became increasingly difficult for black mariners to obtain berths on American ships. Does our close attention to Haiti even today grow from a lingering fear of retribution?

The story of Richard Crafus—King Dick—and the life of captive American sailors, white and black, at Dartmoor Prison during the War of 1812 is an important part of this book and a subject that deserves deeper coverage. It portrays, with an emphasis on the cultural traditions Africans carried with them into slavery and preserved through generations, the nature of the government blacks imposed upon themselves to create order in their segregated prison society.

One surprising bit of information concerning Chesapeake Bay mariners is that more than 50 percent of captains sailing out of Annapolis in 1783 owned slaves but not land, clearly demonstrating how common were crews, at least partially slave, in Maryland. Slave captains, piloting or hauling cargo on the bay, occasionally kept journals, and these inland water sailors had significant influence on less fortunate brethren who worked continually under the eyes of overseers. In the decades preceding the Civil War, African American mariners came under greater scrutiny, as laws in Maryland and Virginia banned black captains, free or slave.

Black Jacks is not a perfect book; it covers too much and over too long a period. The index is inadequate, and occasionally editorial logic is obscure, problems attributable to the publisher. This should not reflect on the author's accomplishments; he won this reviewer's admiration with his graceful writing which, combined with a broad intellectual range firmly grounded in his own long experience at sea, produced a wonderful combination of serious and pleasurable reading.

GEOFFREY M. FOOTNER
Baltimore

Launching the "Extended Republic": The Federalist Era. Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. *Perspectives on the American Revolution.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1996. 416 pages. Notes, appendix, index. \$37.50 cloth.)

In the opening essay of this superb compilation, Gordon Wood argues that the "decade of the 1790s" was the "most awkward in American history," for at no other time in our nation's past did so large a gap exist between "leaders' pretensions of control and the dynamic reality of the [popular and commercial]

forces they were attempting to deal with." In Wood's judgment, "the entire Federalist project was a monumental act of will in the face of contrary circumstances," and thus the early national period is best understood as an era "of unfulfilled expectations, of high hopes smashed, of dreams gone awry" (2-4). Perhaps nothing more clearly exemplifies the "mistaken optimism" and "grandiose aims of the Federalist leaders" than George Washington's futile attempts to "bind" the nation together and avert the "impending evils" of "fractional interests and local jealousies" by "opening a Potomac route to the West" (13, 21, 226, 247). As John Larson concludes, neither the first president's plan for a canal system nor any of his subsequent efforts "to impose design and close the window of revolution . . . could . . . stop the transformation of a culture that would always revere his name, his deeds, his very words, even while it destroyed the meaning of his vision, and perverted his designs for national integration, wise legislation, and improved inland navigation" (248).

The sheer number of Federalist-era schemes that were "built on illusions" and resulted in "uncontrollable" and "unanticipated" consequences goes a long way toward explaining modern scholars' sometimes obsessive desire to recover the Founders' "original intentions." Such a quest not only helps mitigate the "awkwardness" of a seemingly indecipherable decade but also, as Larson observes, reassures worried Americans that their country's central values remain "self-evident" (223). Yet, for the nine distinguished historians who have contributed to this collection, the stated goals of the Federalists and the results of their programs are less important than the elusive and oft-contested middle ground between intentions and reality, where the fundamental notions of American democracy were shaped and continue to be transformed. Only through a broadly conceived understanding of Anglo-American culture, contends John Brooke in his pathbreaking, eighty-six-page study of voluntary associations in the Early Republic, will historians at last be able to resist their collective impulse to label and dichotomize and assume the far more challenging task of tracing the numerous ways that "unity and hegemony in the public sphere gave way to fracture and challenge" (280).

In discussing the doctrine of judicial review, Maeva Marcus insists that even when one can accurately determine the intentions of the Constitution's Framers, the central issue remains "why and how that generation came to think that way when there seems to have been so little in the previous history of America that would have prepared people to accept an unelected judiciary, tenured for life, as an integral part of the democratic process" (25, 52). Though Marcus quotes extensively from the legal opinions of Supreme Court justices such as Samuel Chase of Maryland in order to demonstrate the "wide acceptance of . . . federal judges' power to overturn a congressional statute," ultimately her analysis highlights the critical historical moment when, faced with the passage of the Alien and

Sedition Acts in 1798, Republicans first began arguing that "the Constitution did not contemplate the exercise" of so dangerous a power (46–48).

As Thomas Slaughter suggests in his careful survey of early American treason laws, the search for original understandings is not only extremely difficult; it is a task characteristically enmeshed in the struggles of politicians, judges, and historians to control existing structures of power. Throughout the 1790s, asserts Slaughter, Federalist partisans repeatedly sought to elide the concepts of intentionality and reality as a means of containing the wildness of American democracy. In the aftermath of the so-called "Fries's Rebellion," though "no shots were fired" and "no one was injured," federal judges readily concluded that the mere "intention of subverting law even in the absence of overt violence" was sufficient grounds "to sustain a treason charge under the Constitution" (96, 103). During John Fries's second trial, Justice Chase went so far as to present his written opinion *before* the defense attorneys had an opportunity to make any arguments on behalf of their client—an impulsive act that led to Chase's own trial before the Senate in 1804 for "high crimes and misdemeanors" (106, 107).

According to Andrew Cayton, Senator William Blount of Tennessee scarcely fared better than Fries when, in 1797, the Congressman was charged with conspiracy against the United States government and then ruthlessly caricatured in both the press and private correspondence as a profit-mad "Judas." Cayton reveals that, like the 1790s politicians themselves, "historians have concentrated so much on what was wrong *personally* with Blount . . . that they have neglected to stress what was exceedingly problematic about the political environment in which . . . [he] operated." Blount may have been a "reprehensible person" but he was "not lacking in principles or a coherent vision of the future," and consequently, his motivations and failed endeavors deserve thorough consideration (158).

In an era of sweeping transformations in notions of status and self, judging individuals by their presumed or stated designs and not necessarily by the outcomes of their actions helped reassure paranoid Federalist leaders that they were in command of a political landscape where "good" and "evil" were easily differentiated. Moreover, by insisting that an individual's "intentions" were all that really mattered, such statesmen could assuage their guilt about the need for radical social change. In his thoughtful analysis of an important early national manumission case, James Kettner recovers the process by which more than two hundred African Americans "were obliged to complete a term of servitude ranging from a few months to thirty years" even though "the repertory of legal doctrines available to . . . [the Virginia court] would have made it possible to free all of the slaves born after 1782" (154, 155). This tragic "compromise" favoring gradual over immediate emancipation was nonetheless better than the distressing prospects awaiting most blacks and, for that matter, many Native Americans. As Bernard Sheehan describes in his essay on the "Indian Problem" in the Old North-

west, "satisfying the expansive intentions of the frontier population while maintaining a modicum of decency toward the tribes . . . was a difficult line to walk" (212). Often, the "philanthropic" ideals of many Federalist leaders did little to temper the racist assumptions and deep-seated animosities of white Americans.

Amidst the historical and historiographical emphasis on leaders' intentions, it is essential not to overlook the hopes and aspirations of middle- and lower-class Americans. In his strikingly revisionist essay on artisans' political behavior in New England, Gary Kornblith argues that many mechanics from places such as Boston, Providence, and Salem remained ardent Federalists even as their counterparts in the mid-Atlantic and southern states "defected in droves to Republican party ranks" (254). These workers, insists Kornblith, should not be regarded "as poor deluded victims of paternalistic manipulation or some other hegemonic device." Rather, one should realize that they "had their own ideas about what sort of political economy would advance their prosperity and promote the rise of a strong and stable republic," and as a result, "they acted rationally and deliberately on the basis of their beliefs" (269).

All of the contributors to this impressive new volume in the ongoing series of the U. S. Capitol Historical Society posit complex notions of the 1790s public sphere that challenge contemporary Americans' top-down, often homogenized understandings of the Founding generation. Only by appreciating the diverse and contested nature of politics, society, and culture during this critical transitional period will we begin to grasp the truly "extended" bounds of the early American republic.

ERIC ROBERT PAPENFUSE
Yale University

John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America, Volume Two. Edited by Morey Rothberg. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. 432 pages. Notes, index. \$55 cloth.)

Students of American historiography are well aware that this nation's historical profession drew its first academic breath in 1876 at the Johns Hopkins University. Herbert Baxter Adams and Daniel Coit Gilman directed the development of historical study away from literature and into a demanding, almost scientific discipline. As one of the first students of the new history, John Franklin Jameson (1859–1937) did more to shape the historical profession into what it is today than any other student to pass through those ranks. He left Hopkins as a co-founder of the American Historical Association and later became the first editor of the *American Historical Review*. From these key positions at the top of the new order, Jameson imposed the strict standards of scholarship that still guide modern historians.

This collection of diary entries and letters is presented by the editor as "cru-

cial to an understanding of Jameson's career." They provide a window to Jameson's personal and professional development. They also offer a fascinating look at the early years of academic history and how ideas still at the core of historical scholarship took shape in the mind of a scholar at once bright, dedicated, temperamental, and intolerant.

At first glance, Jameson seems an unlikely candidate to have made such an impact on the new profession. He came to Hopkins as a young graduate student, equipped with the knowledge and endowed with the intellectual capability to secure his degree. His mercurial nature made his early years difficult, and his writings are laced with depression, frustration, and criticism exacerbated by chronic financial worries and a long distance romance with Annie Welch. The primary target of his complaints was his mentor, Herbert Baxter Adams.

Jameson recorded his growing bitterness and resentment toward Adams for what he saw as shallow scholarship, flimsy historical theory, and poor leadership. During his second year in Baltimore he summed up his discontent with one stroke of the pen. "Adams has a lot of half-educated young fellows, or not educated at all, sets them to work ambitiously at high-sounding subjects neither they nor he are half fit to treat, and then, when the crude performance is done, it is to be printed and published with a lot of others, and the seminary is to resolve itself into a mutual admiration society over 'our series' and 'our scientific work'" (64). Jameson demanded deeper scholarship, meticulous research, and critical analysis of historical methods and writings. As Jameson progressed through his graduate studies and into the position of teacher, his caustic tone did not change, but what developed in those critical and reactionary lines became the tenets of the new history. Following his blistering indictment of Adams he wrote: "All of my influence shall go to sober the tone of the work, and make it both more solid and more modest" (65).

In eight years at Hopkins, John Franklin Jameson distinguished what he wanted history to be from what it then was not, and once he left Hopkins and Adams he rose quickly in the field. In 1888 he secured a position as chairman of the history department at Brown University. With the move from Baltimore he freed himself of financial concerns and began building a graduate school in his own image. The political savvy that allowed him to survive his unhappy and difficult years at Hopkins blossomed, and he used it to juggle funds and favors on behalf of his department. In his first year at Brown he wrote to President Gilman, "I am quite amused at the transformation I am operating upon myself, emerging from the cloister, where I always supposed I belonged, and imposing myself upon the general populace as a genuine 'hustler'" (165). This from a young man who ridiculed the Hopkins president's annual address as the "annual apology" (122).

The last section of this work covers Jameson's years after his move to the

University of Chicago in 1900. His successful tenure as editor of the *American Historical Review* forced historical writing into the confines of scientific reporting, and his position in the AHA guaranteed that only like-minded new academics would fill its offices and set the guidelines.

Rothberg succeeds in presenting Jameson's development as a scholar and a leader, nicely balancing his personal side in the diaries with his public side in the letters. The volume is meticulously documented, and the annotations clarify the entries. The editor has also included a document calendar of eight hundred items, and several photographs. This work will be a welcome companion to Elizabeth Donnan and Leo Stock's *An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956), which is basically a tribute, and Marvin E. Gettleman's *The Johns Hopkins University Seminary of History and Politics, the Records of an American Educational Institution* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1987) in which Jameson's harsh voice calls for change.

In a broader sense, this account of Jameson's legacy offers an understanding of the origins of American academic history and illuminates the divisions that still plague the craft. Can narrative history be true history? Can non-academics accurately interpret the past? Was Jameson right in believing history belongs to the academics, or was Adams right in believing history is big enough for everyone? The answers are not in this volume, but an understanding of the questions can be gleaned from the pen of an unhappy graduate student, from letters written in a boarding house near Baltimore's Mount Vernon Square more than a hundred years ago.

PATRICIA DOCKMAN ANDERSON
Baltimore

Books in Brief

The American Civil War not only generated domestic turmoil, but also raised difficult international issues that could not be readily resolved. In diplomatic affairs, the Union's main objective was to prevent Britain's formal recognition of the South and secession. Throughout the war, England did not intervene, seeking neutrality instead, so that it might continue trade with both the North and the South. Howard Jones's carefully argued *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* presents both sides of the issue in a well-researched and documented text.

University of Nebraska Press, \$15.95 paper

William H. Turner's *Chesapeake Boyhood: Memoirs of a Farm Boy*, evokes the rhythms of small-town America during the Depression. Born in Northampton County, Virginia, Turner recounts his youthful adventures duck-hunting, crabbing, and mischief-making on the lower Eastern Shore. He also describes his lifelong interest in Chesapeake wildlife, a primary subject in his drawings and sculpture.

Johns Hopkins University Press, \$14.95

Originally begun in 1972 as a survey by the Maryland Historical Trust and the Frederick County Landmarks Foundation, *Pre-1800 Houses of Frederick County: Volume One, Ballenger to Frederick*, by Ann Lebherz and Mary Margrave, catalogs eighteenth-century homes of the Frederick County election districts. The book is a commendably straightforward directory of homes. The narrative balances history and architectural detailing, and the writing style is direct and informative. Each estate section is headed with black-and-white photograph of the house; when available, historical background of the original owner's family is provided. The inclusion of a glossary and index make the book a ready reference for visitors touring the area.

Frederick County Landmarks Foundation, \$15.00

Tidewater Publishers has announced the publication of the third edition of *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, by John Dorsey and James D. Dilts. Completely revised and expanded from the earlier edition, the guide features fifteen walking and driving tours through Baltimore's neighborhoods. This useful pocket reference includes commentary on more than two hundred buildings, and incorporates new photographs, maps, and tours. The book also includes an evaluation of twentieth-century design by architectural historian Phoebe Stanton.

Tidewater Publishers, \$24.95

D.B.S.

Notices

12th Annual *Maryland Historical Magazine* Prize

Each year the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society offers a prize of \$350 for the most distinguished article to appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* during the previous year. The prize for 1996 (Volume 91) has been awarded to John R. Wennersten for "Soil Miners Redux: The Chesapeake Environment, 1680–1810," which appeared in the summer issue.

September Events at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum

On Saturday, September 13, the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum hosts its Third Annual Traditional Boat Festival, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. The festival features a sailing competition among thirty sail-powered vessels in two, two-hour races. Visitors can observe maritime craftsmen, try their hands at knot-tying and boat-building, or for \$25, work as a crew member aboard one of the Bay's last remaining wooden sailing vessels. Those not wishing to crew can sail on one of four, one-hour excursions aboard the *Mister Jim*. An interpreter will also be onboard to call the race and offer a history of the vessels. A daily pass to the museum and festival is \$7.50 for adults, \$6.50 for senior citizens, and \$3.00 for children. More information about the festival can be obtained by calling 410-745-2916.

Civil War Institute

From June 29–July 5, Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania will host its fifteenth Civil War Institute. The theme of this year's gathering is Jefferson Davis and his generals. Scheduled speakers include scholars, authors, and lecturers. In addition, tours will be offered of the First Manassas and Gettysburg battlefields. Further information is available by calling 717-337-6590.

Joint Virginia-Maryland Exhibition Features 17th-Century Capitals

The Jamestown Settlement and Historic St. Mary's City are sponsoring an exhibition comparing the evolution and growth of the capitals of colonial Virginia and Maryland. The exhibit opened on May 10 and will run until January 1988, when it will move to St. Mary's City. The exhibit seeks to assess the impact of political, economic, and social forces of the day on the two towns, and features seventy archaeological artifacts, including original type from Maryland's first printing press and the lead coffin of Philip Calvert, who died in 1682. For more information, call 757-253-4838.

Photo and Essay Contests Announced by the U.S. Naval Institute

The U.S. Naval Institute has announced the opening of its annual International Navies Photo Contest. All images must feature naval or maritime subjects from countries other than the United States. Anyone may enter; there is a limit of five entries per person. The winner of the top entry will receive \$200. Entries must be postmarked no later than August 1, 1997. For submission requirements, write to: U.S. Naval Institute, 118 Maryland Avenue, Annapolis, MD, 21402-5035.

The Institute has also announced the opening of competition for its tenth annual International Navies Essay Contest. Submitted essays should cover "strategic, geographic, and cultural influences on individual navies, their commitments and capabilities, and relationships with other navies." Winners of the top three essays will receive cash prizes of \$1,000, \$750, and \$500. Submissions should be sent to the U.S. Naval Institute, 118 Maryland Avenue, Annapolis, Md, 21402-5035.

Baltimore Civil War Show

The fourteenth annual Baltimore Civil War Show will be held at the Bourni Temple, 4900 North Charles Street, Baltimore, on Saturday, August 9 and Sunday, August 10, 1997. Civil War museums, genealogical organizations, and organizations dedicated to the preservation of Civil War battlefields will be on hand, as will authors Daniel Carroll Toomey (*The Civil War in Maryland*) and Thomas Lowery (*The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell: Sex in the Civil War*). Hours are Saturday 9 a.m. – 5 p.m., Sunday 9 a.m. – 3 p.m. Admission for adults is \$5.00, and children under twelve accompanied by an adult are admitted free. For more information, call 410-465-6827.

D.B.S.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying the location and date of this Anne Arundel County photograph.

The Spring 1997 Picture Puzzle, a photograph taken about 1875, depicts the front entrance to Alexandroffsky, the grand Italian revival mansion of Thomas De Kay Winans, engineer and contractor of the first Russian railroad between Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1848 Winans purchased the original house, built for James McHenry and located between Baltimore and Hollins Streets in West Baltimore. Renowned architects Niernsee & Neilson updated the structure, which Winans then named in honor of his Russian venture. In 1928 it was demolished after the city declined to buy it from his heirs. Winans's summer home, Crimea, still stands in Leakin Park.

Our congratulations to Mr. Stephen Bilicki, Mr. Ted Chandlee, Mr. Ernest H. Hinrich, Mr. William Hollifield, Mr. Percy Martin, Mr. Raymond Martin, and Dr. J. Raymond Moore, Jr., who correctly identified the Winter 1997 Picture Puzzle. Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674.



Maryland History Bibliography, 1996: A Selected List

ANNE S. K. TURKOS and JEFF KORMAN, Compilers

Since 1975, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list comprises materials published during 1996, as well as some earlier works that have been brought to our attention. For recent publications in genealogy and family history, see the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*.

Bibliographers must live with the fact that their work is never finished. Please notify us of any significant omissions so that they may be included in the next list. Send information and titles to: Anne S. K. Turkos, Archives and Manuscripts Department, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

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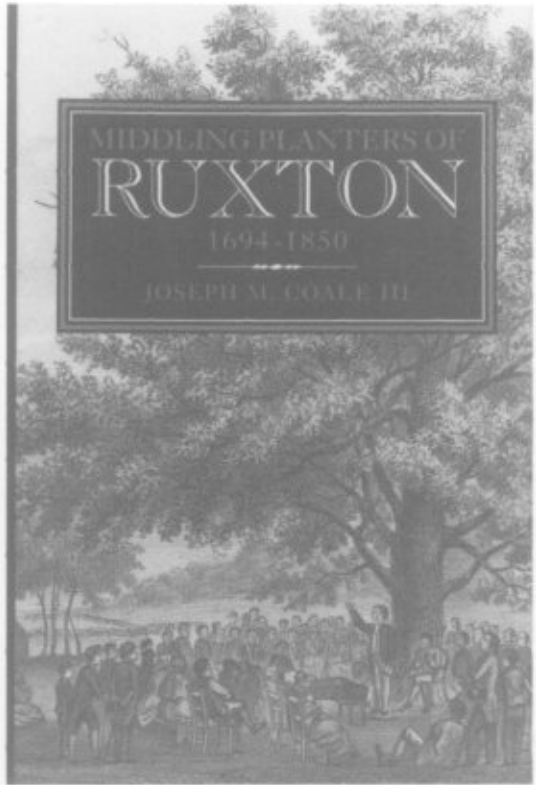
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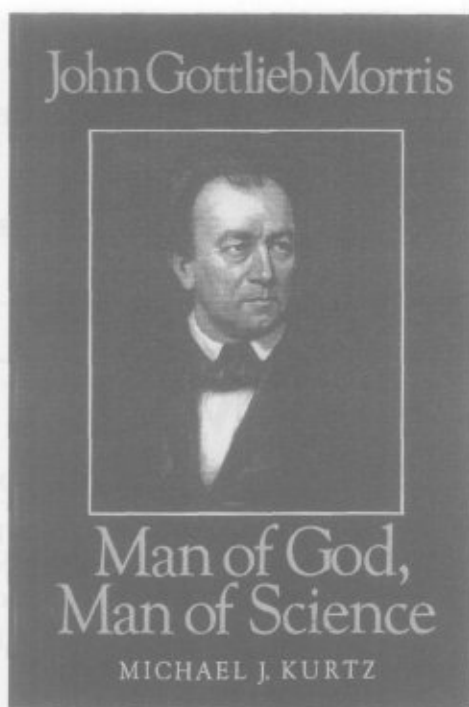
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